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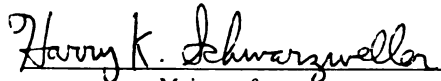
CAREER VALUES IN THE STATUS ATTAINMENT PROCESS:
A DECADE OF CHANGE IN APPALACHIAN KENTUCKY, 1968-1978

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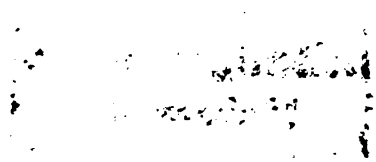
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has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

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**CAREER VALUES IN THE STATUS ATTAINMENT PROCESS:
A DECADE OF CHANGE IN APPALACHIAN KENTUCKY, 1968-1978**

By

Stanley T. Lee

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

CAREER VALUES IN THE STATUS ATTAINMENT PROCESS: A DECADE OF CHANGE IN APPALACHIAN KENTUCKY, 1968-1978

by

Stanley T. Lee

This study was designed to observe changes in the interrelationships between social class origins, career values and the career ambitions of graduating high school seniors in rural Kentucky during the decade of 1968-1978.

Data were collected by Dr. Donald Bogie from high schools in three Kentucky regions: Central Bluegrass, Western, and Appalachian. A total of 1609 cases was obtained in 1968 and 1545 cases in 1978. Economic and demographic information to compare regional opportunity structures was derived from the 1970 and 1980 U. S. Censuses. The present study, focusing especially on the changing situation in the Appalachian region, is essentially a secondary analysis of these longitudinal data.

Career values are approached as a special kind of orientation or valuational behavior. I follow Rokeach and Williams in viewing values as conceptualizations of the desirable, i.e., preferences. Career values are here operationally defined as the empirically measured tendencies to prefer certain kinds of work-career conditions or end-states over others. Six value variables

or foci of career interest were drawn into this exploratory project: achievement/advancement, security, service to society, work with people, hard work, and money. These orientations were measured by a series of indicants in a forced choice questionnaire.

My findings suggest that regional idiosyncrasies, particularly unique opportunity structures, should be taken into account in positing theories which link career values and career choosing/status attainment behaviors. As in earlier studies, gender and social class origin are shown to be the key mechanisms through which regional socio-economic circumstances are translated into (i.e., impact upon) behavior. But it is also observed that gender and social class origin impose their influences indirectly (as well as directly) upon career choosing/status attainment behavior, in part at least, through career values that are reflective of regional environments and cultures. The unique processes of career setting behavior in a marginal region such as Appalachian Kentucky (a very rapidly changing region) is evident from my findings.

Practical implications for regional development and educational policies are discussed. Recommendations for future studies are suggested.

In memory of
Soulien, my late sister.

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Chapter I

Values and Career Choosing Behavior:

Theoretical Perspectives and Study Problem

1. Introduction

This study explores the changing career values of high school graduating seniors in rural Appalachian Kentucky during the decade of 1968-1978. It attempts to trace the complex interrelationships between a set of specified orientations which focus on various aspects of work and the status attainment process, namely the behavioral linkages between social class origin and upward social mobility. As a comparative, longitudinal project, the research enables us to view, in a rather unique manner, the dynamics of development in an economically marginal area. Special efforts will be made to seek information about the impacts of regional opportunity structures upon the manner by which class values affect career choosing and status attainment.

Between 1968 and 1978 Appalachian Kentucky was a target of many and various development efforts, both public and private, and one expects that these contributed in no small way to a modification of the local culture and the regional idiosyncrasies which had evolved from many years of relative isolation. In particular, orientational changes associated

with development efforts should be reflected in the educational and occupational aspirations and goals of young people.

Specifically, through the analysis of comparable sets of survey data from Appalachian and Central/Western Kentucky, I will seek to determine any shifts in the pattern of relationships between class origins of young people and their perspectives about what constitutes an ideal job or work career. I am concerned especially about the life chances of rural young people in transitional regions like Appalachia and I want to better understand how valuational changes are affecting changes in status attainment behavior. The lessons to be learned will certainly be relevant to comparable situations in America and, perhaps also, in Third World regions where it often seems that through development efforts, and/or despite such efforts, the gap between rising expectations and real opportunities tends to be widening.

2. Status Attainment Behavior: A Complex Process

The career decisions of young people, particularly their educational and occupational plans at the threshold of graduation from high school, reflect their career goals and their strategies of building toward those goals. This kind of decision making is, in one's career, often a pivotal point in the process of status attainment; the steps taken

have much to do with determining one's future social status in society, and hence one's eventual style of life. In making such important decisions young people very likely take into account both existing or projected opportunities available to them and their ability and chances to achieve what they anticipate. The decisions may be made with consideration of past experiences and the experiences of others, especially those of their parents and other significant others; the actors may not even be aware of some influences. The influences can be either direct or indirect. Thus, in addition to personal attributes and structural characteristics, career decisions are also subjected to influences derived from interpersonal relationships.

Specifically, the career decisions of young people have been analyzed in terms of racial and ethnic origins (Howell et al 1981), gender (Rosen and Aneshensel 1978, Saltiel 1985, McClendon 1976, Sewell and Hauser 1980), social class background (Haller and Portes 1973), educational or school environment (Alexander and Eckland 1977), scholastic performance in school (Schwarzweller and Lyson 1978, Falk et al 1981), parental influence (Kahl 1953, Simpson 1962, Kandel and Lesser 1969, Reitze and Mutran 1980, Couklin and Dailey 1981), and other structural factors including rural-urban residence (Sewell and Armer 1966, Featherman 1971, Falk 1978, Hanson 1982, Schwarzweller 1968), neighborhood (Sewell and Armer 1966), and region (Schwarzweller 1973, Lyson 1978). But, research on the effects of such

structural and demographic factors has rarely taken into account the valuational expressions of young people with respect to what it is they regard as important and meaningful in building careers¹. Nevertheless, sociological theorizing about career choosing and status attainment behavior, as one would suppose, has been very much concerned with the valuational impacts of social class origins.

3. Valuational Concerns

Sundry information and documents about career values and valuational impacts have been collected and discussed by some of the studies mentioned above. Yet, there is still little agreement about the domain of this concept and its measurement.

Types of Values: Values, of course, are viewed in many different ways, and with respect to different aspects of life. Recent sociological studies have identified several relevant types of class values.

Success values or ambition-achievement values

(Spencer and Featherman 1978, Hyman 1953, Davis 1946, Della

----- ,

1. Recent interests and attention to valuational aspects of career choosing behaviors were studied by Williams (1969), Rokeach (1969), Feather (1979), Spates (1984), and Kohn (1979).

Fave 1974) are conceptions of the desirability of attaining an end state or high strata position within society in terms of prestige, power, and/or wealth. This type of value reflects personal beliefs about and the calculation of one's possible success in obtaining desired career goals.

Normally, it involves aspirations or expectations for a college education and/or a professional work career.

Instrumental values are conceptions of the desirability of means used to obtain various end states or high strata positions. This type of value reflects the manner and direction a person has chosen to deal with the demands from within themselves or from other people. Kohn's self direction and conformity behavior epitomize these values.

A third type of class values are situational. These values are conceptions of the desirability of various working conditions or living environments. They are similar and relevant to success values. But, the motivation involved in these values is not directly and intrinsically attached to the stratification structure of a society as it is in success values. Residential preferences, Elder's rural values, and career orientations/desiderata or work values are in this classification.

For present purposes, I am concerned mainly with career values or orientations. My approach to career orientations is derived from and consistent with that of Ball-Rokeach (1984), Feather (1975), Kluckhohn (1956), Rokeach (1979), Rosenberg (1957), and Williams (1971, 1979). Career

orientations are perceived as particular kinds of value expression or desiderata. They are component parts of a belief system², often incorporated with a cultural content and a psychological investment (Williams 1979, Ball-Rokeach et al 1984).

Effects: Like other values, career orientations are believed to serve as behavioral guidelines, specifically, for selection of career goal behaviors, and possibly for justification or explanation for a relevant past conduct (Kriesberg 1963, Williams 1979). As indicated by Williams (1979), "when most explicit and fully conceptualized, values become criteria for judgment, preference, and choice. When implicit and unreflective, values nevertheless perform 'as if' they constituted grounds for decision in behavior" (p.16).

2. A belief system includes beliefs, attitudes, and values. "A belief is," Rokeach (1980) says, "any expectancy concerning existence, evaluation, prescription-proscription, or cause." He continues: "An attitude is a relatively enduring organization of existential, evaluative, prescription-proscription, and causal beliefs organized around an object or situation, predisposing one to respond (a) preferentially to the object or situation, (b) discriminately to all persons perceived to vary in their attitude to object or situation, and (c) differentially to social controls or pressures intended to coerce expression to specified positions toward object and situation. All such preferential, discriminatory, or differential responses are instrumental to the realization of societally-originating values-shared prescriptive or proscriptive beliefs about ideal modes of behavior and end states of existence that are activated by, yet transcend object and situation." (Rokeach 1980, p.262.)

Values are believed to mediate between social class origins and status attainment behavior (Kohn 1969, Kohn and Schooler 1978, Schwarzweller 1978, Mortimer and Kumka 1982, Lindsay and Knox 1982). That is, values are influential in behavior and associated with social class origins. The association with social class origins is linked primarily by parents' occupational experiences and conditions.

With respect to career plans and status attainment behaviors, Williams believes that values are influential. Van Zeyl (1974) argues that values affect life goal behaviors and the strategies to obtain them. More specifically, values are believed to affect educational choices (Kohn 1969, Lindsay and Knox 1984) and occupational choices (Rosenberg 1957, Davis 1965, Holland 1976, Mortimer and Lorence 1979, Howell et al 1981, Lindsay and Knox 1984). Similarly, it is also commonly assumed that men and women select different occupations because they carry with them different value orientations (Lueptow 1981, Herzog 1982, Woodworth 1981).

Men and women seek, according to Woodworth (1981), to satisfy different needs in choosing a job. Many of the jobs predominantly held by women involve giving help to others and attending to domestic duties which are also predominantly features of the traditional female roles. Women are less likely to emphasize the economic function and related characteristics of a job than are men, while they may be more attuned to characteristics dealing with self actualization. A similar view is expressed by Herzog

(1982). He indicates that occupational plans of adolescents are sex-typed because young men and women value different aspects of a job. Men attribute, according to Herzog, higher importance to money, status, autonomy, and authority. Women attribute, on the other hand, higher importance to interpersonal contacts and altruistic concerns.

Howell, Ohlendorf, and McBroom (1981) analyzed data on high school students attending schools in the rural south (the Southern Youth Study). They found that the values placed on life events such as family, work, education, and place of residence "organize" and implement life plans and career decisions. Strong family values increase, for example, fertility expectations (about ideal family size), educational expectations, and occupational ambitions. Higher valuation of education increases the level of educational and occupational plans but does not affect marital timing and fertility plans, while residential values promote rural residence preference. But, work values do not influence occupational expectations, and only marginally affect marital timing plans.

In his study of the career patterns of rural youth, Elder (1963) found that farm-oriented boys acquire values consonant with farm life. In contrast, boys who plan to leave the farm are more likely to dispose of traditional rural values and beliefs, and are more prone to view change as desirable. In addition, farm-oriented boys are more likely to consider "work with things", while non-farm boys

more frequently favor work involving relationships with people and working with ideas.

Focusing on intrinsic, people-oriented, and extrinsic values and based on panel data of college students from the University of Michigan first interviewed in 1966 and 1967, and reinterviewed in 1976, Mortimer and Lorence (1979) confirmed their hypothesis that people do choose their occupations on the basis of their values. Those who emphasized extrinsic values tended to select occupations with great income potential; and those who emphasized people-oriented values were prone to select the occupations that provide opportunities to work with people. The others who emphasized the importance of intrinsic values tended to maximize interest and self-expression in their work.

Finally, Lindsay and Knox (1984) observed a set of panel data collected from a nation-wide survey of high school seniors in 1972 and 1979. They confirmed that there is a direct influence of work values on occupational selection. They also found that the effects of work values on work selection may be channeled through the process of educational attainment.

Mechanisms: There are different ways by which or mechanisms through which values affect career decisions. First of all, values may act as a catalyst for achievement motivation in the status attainment process (Lueptow 1968). That is, the effect of achievement motivation is mediated by value orientations which identify the occupation or

career as an appropriate avenue for expression and gratification of the need.

Secondly, values may encourage or discourage attitudinal persistence for goal attainment (Van Zeyle 1974, Fiorentine 1987). The values internalized by lower-class youth do not provide them with enough persistence for upward mobility even though they may desire a college education as do upper-class youth (Van Zeyle 1974). Similarly, girl students are generally less persistent in pursuing their career goals than are boy students because their traditional values about family life and career life often contradict or constrain their motivation and efforts for occupational success (Fiorentine 1987).

Thirdly, there are direct and indirect effects. Values may affect, for example, occupational plans directly, or indirectly through educational attainment (Lindsay and Knox 1984). Fourthly, there are isomorphic and non-isomorphic effects. The influence of educational values on educational and occupational plans is, for example, an isomorphic effect, while the influence of family values on educational and occupational plans is a non-isomorphic effect (Howell et al 1981). Finally, values may have interactive effects in status attainment behavior. High school students who value education and occupational attainment are, according to Byrd (1976), likely to spend more time pondering their future strategies within these areas.

Thus, although the mechanisms of affect may be different,

career orientations are believed to be influential in the career choosing behaviors of young people (Rosenberg 1967, Elder 1963, Davis 1965, Holland 1976, Schwarzweller 1978, Mortimer and Lorence 1979, Lueptow 1968, 1981, Mortimer and Kamka 1981, Woodworth 1981, Tallichet 1984, Lindsay and Knox 1984). Orientations toward intrinsic satisfaction, work, people, and altruistic rewards would increase the level of career ambition, whereas orientations toward extrinsic rewards would reduce it. But, why and how do people carry different values? Are values associated with social class backgrounds?

4. Social Class Issues

Debates on Class Values: Social class values are a classic sociological issue. Merton (1957) and Parsons (1958) assumed that societies are organized around common values and that there are minor valuational differences between the social classes. In contrast, Hyman (1953) believed that values are class differentiated. A synthetic view was provided by Rodman (1963). According to Rodman, there are common values shared by all classes; but, some values are more likely to be stretched by the lower classes than by the upper. He said that

"The lower-class person, without abandoning the general values of the society, develops an alternative set of values. Without abandoning the general values placed

upon success,..., he stretches the values so that lesser degrees of success also become desirable." (Rodman 1963, p.209)

However, there is no or little evidence that supports the theory of "lower-class value stretch" (Della Fave 1974, Young and Cochrane 1977). Instead, the evidence appears to lean more toward the view of Hyman i.e., that social classes have different values (Pearlin and Kohn 1966, Kohn 1969a, 1969b; Morgan et al 1979, Slomczynski et al 1981). The question is not whether class values are different, but why they are different.

Cultural Perspective: There are two theoretical perspectives that explain class variations in value orientations. Cultural theorists argue that values are the basic components of class subculture. Cultural traits determine the psychological characteristics of a person including not only his/her values, but also, his/her cognitions, beliefs, attitudes, and entire personality. Once values emerge, they will persist from generation to generation. The chance for social mobility is very limited unless the poor can modify their culture and adopt the culture of the main stream, i.e. the middle class. As Oscar Lewis said, the children of the poor over six or seven years old are "psychologically unready to take full advantage of changing conditions or improved opportunities that may develop in their lifetime, because they have already absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture" (Steinberg 1981). Accordingly, cultural factors

are believed to be more important than economic factors in the class variations. The work of Jack Weller (1960), Thomas Ford (1973), and John Photiadis (1970) can be classified as being in this theoretical category.

Situational Perspective: In contrast, situational theorists believe that values are a consequence of social conditions and that they emerge as a means of adaptation. According to this view, values can change in response to alterations in social conditions. Factors associated with the economic system are emphasized. Billings (1974) argued, for example, that the difference of the poverty behaviors between the poor in North Carolina Appalachia and the poor in other North Carolina regions is not in the cultural factors, such as middle class achievement orientations, but in the rural characteristics of the region. In other words, the differences reflect the opportunity structure of the regions.

A similar view was proposed by John Kasarda (1980,1983) in a review by Wilson and Aponte (1985). The American poor in the inner-cities have, according to Kasarda, been vulnerable to the structural transformation in urban metropolises. The behavioral patterns and norms that characterize these people are a result of lack of opportunities and the economic change of the cities (Wilson and Aponte 1985).

Wilson and Aponte (1985) argue that economic factors are becoming more important than racial factors in the

status attainment of American blacks. Allen and Farley (1986) challenge, however, that racial factors have been and are still playing a critical role in the daily life of American blacks. They reviewed the studies of DuBois (1967) and Frazier (1937, 1964) and documented socioeconomic change by using US Census data from 1950 to 1980 in occupational distribution, labor force participation, educational attainment, income and earnings, fertility and mortality rates, and family organizational patterns for blacks and whites. They conclude that race and economic status are linked in American society.

Synthetic View: Wilson and Aponte do not completely reject the cultural perspective. They seem to agree with other critics of the culture of poverty including Steinberg (1981), Herbert Gans (1968), Kriesberg (1963), Rainwater (1966, 1968, 1970). As indicated by Herbert Gans, they believe that people's behavior and attitudes change when opportunities and situations available to them change. But, the reaction to change depends upon prior values and patterns of behavior. Some behavioral norms are more persistent than others, but all of them will eventually change over the long run. They say:

"As economic and social opportunities change, new behavioral solutions originate and develop into patterns, later to be upheld and complemented by norms. If new situations emerge, both the behavioral patterns and the norms eventually undergo change." (p.250)

Steinberg (1981) also challenges the view of cultural

determination in socioeconomic mobility. He argues that people are poor not because they carry "wrong" cultural values. However, he agrees with Oscar Lewis that cultural values emerge as a means of adaptation developed out of living situations. According to Steinberg, values and attitudes will change once the economic factors which are responsible for them are eliminated. Therefore, an explanation of behavioral patterns and cultural values must take the history of development and the socioeconomic conditions of society into account. In other words, the linkage between economic forces, cultural values, and individual states of mind must be explored in order to break out of the pattern of habitual behaviors. He says:

"Poor people do not get ahead or lag behind on the basis of their cultural values. Rather, they are born into a given station in life and adopt values that are consonant with their circumstances and their life chances. To the extent that lower class ethnics seem to live according to a different set of values, this is primarily a cultural manifestation of their being trapped in poverty." (p.12)

Steinberg comes closer to the view of Kriesberg's (1963). Kriesberg is concerned with the congruence between behavior and values with respect to social class origins. He argues that values and beliefs may be learned from parents and persist, or emerge from current social inculcation either by generalizing from current experiences, or by accommodating to current behavior. According to Kriesberg, social class values and beliefs deriving from the shared socioeconomic situation are distinguishable from those which are

cultural. He says:

"The situation of members of a given stratum often appears to be what it is because of the values and beliefs they have learned in the process of socialization, and what they have learned is the result of the situation experienced by the persons who socialized them. Furthermore, members of a stratum continue to learn values and beliefs as they face new shared situations and the situations are constantly changing. Finally, there is a sufficiently small amount of intergenerational stratum mobility so that most persons face situations resembling of their parents."

Thus, values are theoretically associated with social stratification positions. The values that tend to be emphasized by persons of lower class origin are, for example, according to Williams (1979), security, fringe benefits, physical conditions, and nature of supervision. Emphasized more frequently by higher status persons are self-expression and development, creativity, active personal relationships, worthiness of work, challenge, and opportunity for personal achievement (pp. 82-83). The association may be mediated by working and living experiences. Values are also transmitted from parents to children through the channel of socialization. Social class origins affect, according to Kohn (1979a), parental values. Parental values determine then the practice of socialization. Through the process of socialization both at home and in school, values may be developed or emerge as a result of parental manipulation or as responses to the living environment and the socialization experiences; the latter are no doubt relevant to parent's education and occupation, and subjected to his or her influence (Lareau

1987).

5. Impact of occupations and working conditions

Empirically, Kohn and his associates (Pearlin and Kohn 1966; Kohn 1969a, 1969b; Kohn and Schooler 1978, Morgan et al 1979, Samuel and Lewin-Epstein 1979, Slomczynski et al 1981, Lindsay and Knox 1984) have found that social class origin is related to the values that parents have for themselves and their children. Pearlin and Kohn (1966) discovered, for example, that both in Italy and the United States the values that parents have for their children vary by their social positions in social stratification system. Middle class parents are more likely to value self-direction, while working class parents are more likely to emphasize the importance of conformity to external conditions. Later, Kohn (1979a) analyzed data collected by the National Opinion Research Center in 1964 from 3100 American men . He found that social class origin is related to men's value orientation. Upper class males are more likely to value self-direction and less likely to value conformity to external rules than are the lower class. As indicated by Kohn,

"the higher the men's social class, the greater is their valuation of consideration, an interest in how and why things happen, responsibility, and self control, and the less their valuation of manners, neatness, and cleanliness, being a good student, honest, and obedience."

(p.662)

The difference is believed to be a result of the variation in occupations and working experiences.

Kohn (1969a) explains that:

"Middle class occupations characteristically deal more with the manipulation of interpersonal relations, ideas, and symbols; while working class occupations deal more with things. Middle-class occupations are more subject to standardization and direct supervision. In short, middle-class occupations demand a greater degree of self-direction; working-class occupations require that the individual conform to rules and procedures established by authority." (Pp. 9-10, preface)

In 1978, Kohn and Schooler (1978) demonstrated that complexity of work impinges on life conditions which in turn affect values, self-conception, and social orientation. Slomczynski, Kazimier, Miller and Kohn (1981) compared the class effect on value orientations between the United States and Poland. They found that men in both countries value in correspondence to their positions in the social stratification system. Men of higher position are more likely to value self-direction and to have a social orientation consonant with valuing self direction such as a nonauthoritarian perspective, personally responsible standards of morality, and trustfulness than are the men of lower position.

The work connection theory is also confirmed by Fagenson (1986). She observed women's work orientations. Her data appear to support the argument that women's orientations toward their families, careers, jobs,

organizations, subordinates and the leadership are a result of the fact that fewer women were in the labor force positions that require those values. The work orientations of women are, according to Fagenson, not a result of socialization.

Samuel and Lewin-Epstein (1979) studied the effects of occupational status and occupational site (i.e., working conditions) on work values. They found that occupational site is a better predictor of value preference than is occupational status. Morgan, Ohlendorf, and McBroom (1979) applied Kohn's theory to observe adolescent's educational experience. They found a persistent relationship between father's occupational position and maternal values. Mothers of upper class origins are more likely to value self-direction for themselves and their children, while mothers of lower class origin value conformity.

6. Impact of Socialization: Transmission in the Family

The questions are: Do parents pass their values to their children? And how do they pass it over? Do fathers and mothers share equal influence in children's values? Vern Bengtson (1979) provides evidence that certain values such as collectivism/individualism are transmitted over three generations. The parental socialization values are also identified by Ellis, Lee and Petersen (1978) in their

cross-cultural studies.

With regard to modernism, perceived as "a set of attitudes, values, and ways of feeling and acting, presumably of the sort required for active participation in a modern society," Grasmick and Grasmick (1978) found that farm background of adult residents in an American metropolitan area affect their modernism, even with controls for education, exposure to the mass media, and age.

The socialization process was also found in attitude expression (Rapoport 1985). And, the process is likely conditioned by the sex of the child and of parent. Mothers are, according to Rapoport (1985), particularly more influential for daughters than are fathers. On the other hand, fathers have a somewhat stronger effect on sons than do mothers. But, the parental difference is relatively smaller on sons than on daughters. Thus, it is very likely that values and attitudes are transmittable from generation to generation through the channel of socialization.

7. Social class origins and career values

Mortimer and Lorence (1979) observed the relationships between family characteristics and value orientations of the students from the University of Michigan in 1966 and 1967. They found that family income is negatively related to sons' extrinsic values, but not to their intrinsic and

people-oriented values. However, mother's education was found to have little impact upon work values. Mortimer and Kumka (1982) reanalyzed their data with a control on fathers' occupational sectors. A rather significant relationship then emerged. It appears that parental support is more strongly related to sons' extrinsic values in the business sector and to sons' intrinsic and people-oriented value orientation in the professional origin group. From the national data of high school seniors, Lindsay and Knox (1984) reported that youngsters from high status origins are more likely to favor intrinsic values and to deemphasize extrinsic values than are youngsters from low status origins.

However, Howell, Ohlendorf, and McBroom (1981) failed to confirm the hypothesis that value orientations are related to social class origin. They found no significant association between social class origins and the value orientations regarding life events including family, job, education, and residence.

8. Polarization and Diffusion: A Structuring Nature

Based on data collected from young people in schools located in four U.S. rural socioeconomic regions and in three Norwegian rural regions in 1968/1970 and 1969, respectively, Schwarzweller observed career values with

respect to career plans and social class origins. Six desiderata variables measuring the various aspects of career values were selected for observation. He found that career values are influential in career choosing behaviors.

The influences appear to cluster in terms of a security/money theme and a people/service theme. The young people who prefer jobs dealing with people and offering an opportunity to perform some useful services are found more likely to expect to go on to college and to expect to have a nonmanual and/or professional work career than those who are more concerned with security and monetary aspects of a job. The desiderata of hard work and job advancement do not display any significant influence in the formation of career plans.

The specification of influences is found to vary by gender and social class origins. The influences are relatively more polarized (i.e., more tightly clustered) and less diffused for boys and higher class youths than for girls and lower class youths. However, the influences are relatively stronger among young people from the United States than among young people from Norway. As a matter of fact, career values appear to have little impact upon the career plans of Norwegian middle school students, where influences seem to emerge only after they have attended senior high schools.

Apparently, motivational factors such as career values

are probably more important in contest mobility societies like the United States, where opportunities for higher education and elite status are ideally open to all who want to work toward that direction; and institutional barriers for upward mobility are minimized and discouraged as compared with the sponsorship societies such as Norway, where tracking for elite position is deliberately institutionalized throughout the entire educational system (Turner 1963).

Although career values are believed to be learned and developed within the family network, mainly, through the process of socialization³, they are not significantly related to social class origins. Nevertheless, there is a tendency shown that young people from working class families are somewhat more likely to value job security whereas those from a white collar class background are more inclined to emphasize the service/people aspects of a work career.

The weak association between social class origin and career values may be explained by one or all of the following: 1). The homogeneous backgrounds of the

3. My view on the development of career values concurs with the position of Gans, Kriesberg, Rainwater, and Wilson and Aponte's. I believe that values emerge as ways of adaptation in order to meet the social or occupational demands within the context of a greater social system. Values are relatively stable over time; but they can change if the original condition under which they emerged changes.

populations. Both U.S. and Norwegian data were collected from students attending schools located in rural areas; a greater portion of them came from working families;

2). Significance of school influence. Perhaps, peer influence and those from school personnel might disturb or suppress the class difference; 3). It is likely a result of the operationalization and the measurement of the class concept (Wright et al 1982). The manual and nonmanual classification of fathers' occupations might obscure the class structure of contemporary industrial societies. Many nonmanual workers in these societies are, for example, no longer distinctive from traditional manual workers. Like the manual workers, they have little or no authority or influence over others; they have little, if any, control over their own lives either. As a matter of fact, their work such as clerks may be as routine as those of manual workers, and demand very little initiative or creativity. 4). More likely, it is a result of the lack of control of other relevant factors including parent's education, mother's values, father's values, parent's relationship to his or her child (Kohn 1980)⁴.

4. The transmission of values in the family is, according to Kohn, a rather complex process. First of all, parental values are causally related to education, occupational position, and job conditions. Secondly, the transmission varies by the sex of the child and the parent. As indicated earlier, the mother has greater influence for daughter than does the father. Third, the perception of the child about his or her parent's values depends on the nature and quality of the parent-child relationship. Parental values would be more

9. Research Problem

Career values are influential in the career plans of young people, and to some extent are associated with social class origins. The evidence cited above was derived mainly from information collected through studies conducted on national or societal levels. No inquiries were reported in these studies about the possible specification of regional or cultural idiosyncrasies, even though, regional variations, particularly in opportunity structure, were formerly linked to both class structure (Kasarda 1980, 1983; Wilson and Aponte 1985, Steinberg 1981, Gans 1968, Kriesberg 1963, Rainwater 1966, 1968, 1970) and status attainment behaviors (Schwarzweller 1973, Lyson 1978). Would the role of career values in the relationship between social class origins and career plans be affected by the socioeconomic condition of a region? More specifically, would the role of career values be the same in a marginal region, such as Appalachia, as in the mainstream society? And, would the role of career values change when people experience socioeconomic change or development in the region?

The career values study of Schwarzweller's will be replicated in this study with an emphasis upon the regional

successfully transmitted to children by those parents who have close relationships with their children than by those who do not.

contingency in the role of career values. First of all, I want to know the possible differences between Appalachian youth and other Kentucky youth in value expressions. Since the level of socioeconomic development was relatively lower in the Appalachian region than in either Central Kentucky or Western Kentucky, it is hypothesized that the young people from the region are more likely to develop a pattern of career values resembling that of working class youth than other Kentucky youth. In other words, Appalachian youth are more likely to value the aspects of a job concerned with security, money, and advancement, and less likely to favor aspects dealing with hard work, people, and services, than other Kentucky youth. As the region becomes more developed socially and economically, Appalachian youth, I expect, become less likely to value the aspects of a job dealing with security, money, and advancement, and more likely to favor hard work, working with people, and providing good services to society.

Secondly, I want to know whether the effects of career values are specified by regional idiosyncrasies. Would career values be as influential in a marginal region like Appalachia as in the mainstream society? And, how would the influences be related to social class origins? As discovered earlier by Schwarzweller (1978), the influences appear to polarize along a security/money theme and a people/service theme at the national level; and, polarization seems to vary by social class origins. That is, the

influences are more polarized and less diffused for upper class youth than for lower class youth. But, would the same pattern be found in the marginal region? I believe that the value expression may be somewhat constrained by the opportunity structure of a region as it is by the class structure. Therefore, it is expected that the influences would be relatively more diffused and less polarized for Appalachian youth than for other Kentucky youth. As the level of socioeconomic development increases, the influences are hypothesized to become more polarized and less diffused.

Finally, I am concerned with the impacts of regional socioeconomic characteristics upon social class valuations. Although the association was rather weak, lower class youth are found to be relatively more likely to value the aspects of a job dealing with security, money, and advancement while upper class youth are concerned with the aspects concerning hard work, the opportunity to work with people, and the opportunity to provide good services to society (Schwarzweiler 1978). But, would the same pattern be found in Appalachian Kentucky? And, would the pattern persist even when the region experienced socioeconomic development?

Although Appalachia is culturally not a homogeneous region, people living there inherit and share, to some extent, a common sentiment, language, customs, and some ways of life, probably as a result of struggling against poverty and of years of isolation from the American society. Excluding a few who benefit from the exploitation of

regional coal and other resources and who traditionally maintain a close relationship with the rest of the nation, the majority of Appalachians, particularly those living or associated (mainly through kinship ties) with the eastern rural Kentucky mountains, appear to be bound as an ethnic group, even after they migrate and live many years in the "outside" world with the majority in Great Lakes cities and Ohio cities. Therefore, it is expected that the class variation in value expressions will be smaller among Appalachian youth than among the other Kentucky youth.

As the region develops socially and economically, it becomes more a part of the greater American society. The chance of being exposed to the ideas and values of the mainstream society will increase; but the increase will be greater for upper class and their children than for lower class and their children. As a consequence, the class variation will increase, and the regional differences will become smaller.

Specifically, six major hypotheses can thereby be summarized and listed as follows:

- (1). Appalachian boys and girls are more likely to value the extrinsic aspects of a job than are Kentucky boys and girls from other regions.
- (2). Appalachian boys and girls are probably becoming more interested in the intrinsic/people aspects of a job (comparing 1968 with 1978 data).
- (3). Career values are assumed to be associated with career

ambition. Those who indicate an expectation for upper status mobility are more likely to value the intrinsic/people aspects of a job; those who do not have such an expectation are more likely to value the extrinsic aspects of a job. The associations are probably less noteworthy (less polarized and more diffused) for Appalachian boys and girls than for Kentucky boys and girls from other regions.

- (4). The associations between career values and career ambition are probably becoming more polarized and less diffused for Appalachian boys and girls.
- (5). Career values are assumed to be associated with social class origins. Those from blue collar class families are more likely to value the extrinsic aspects of a job; those from white collar class families are more likely to value the intrinsic/people aspects of a job. The associations would be less polarized and more diffused for Appalachian boys and girls than for other Kentucky boys and girls in both years, 1968 and 1978.
- (6). Finally, the associations between career values and social class origin are probably becoming more polarized and less diffused for Appalachian boys and girls (comparing 1968 and 1978 data).

10. Summary

The objectives of this study and the study problem were noted and discussed in this chapter. Hypotheses were developed from a theoretical framework constructed from empirical research and existing theories in career choosing and status attainment with respect to social class origins, value orientation, and regions.

There is evidence that value orientations are influential and associated with social class origins. But the association is likely suppressed. Without controlling the relevant variables such as parental values, parental relationship to the child, and the gender of the parent and the child, it is not realistic to expect a strong statistical relationship between social class origins and value expressions.

With respect to career values, I anticipate that they are influential in the career-choosing behaviors of the young people from a marginal region like Appalachia. But, the influences will be relatively less polarized and more diffused than those for the young people from the more prosperous regions. As the region develops socially and economically, the influences will then become relatively more polarized and less diffused.

In addition, I believe that the influences will vary by social class origins in the marginal region as they do in the main society. That is, the influences are more polarized and less diffused for upper class youth, and less polarized and more diffused for lower class youth.

Yet, class differences will be relatively smaller in the marginal region than in the more prosperous regions. As the region develops socially and economically, the class difference between the marginal region and the mainstream society will be reduced.

It is also anticipated that career values are associated with the class origin of the young people in the marginal region as well as in the main society. However, the association will be rather small because other relevant variables will not be introduced into the study model for analysis. For example, parental values are not included in the model. Nevertheless, the association between social class origins and career values is expected to be relatively smaller for the marginal region than for the main society. As the region develops socially and economically, the gap in the association between the marginal region and the main society will be reduced.

Chapter II

Research Foci and Procedures

1. Study Population

The eastern Kentucky counties of Breathitt, Lee, Menifee, Owsley, Magoffin, Elliott, Powell, and Wolfe were selected to represent the economically marginal Appalachian region. Except for Breathitt, these counties are all located in State Economic Area 8. Breathitt is located in State Economic Area 9. For comparison, a commercialized agricultural area in the Central Kentucky Bluegrass region and an industrialized area in Western Kentucky were also chosen. The Central region includes four Bluegrass counties. They are Anderson, Clark, Jessamine, and Scott counties. The Western region is represented by Daviess County¹.

In 1968, all three study areas were predominantly rural and largely a white population; the Appalachian area manifested a greater degree of rurality and homogeneity. The economy of Eastern Kentucky was characterized by subsistence small family farms, high levels of unemployment,

1. Earlier studies by Schwarzweller, Lacky, Bogie, and Lyson included both Daviess and Henderson counties. Henderson was dropped from this study because the schools there which participated in the study in 1968 refused to participate in the study in 1978.

and severe poverty problems. A great proportion of families in the region lived, at least partially, on governmental subsidies and/or pensions. The lack of job opportunities "pushed" many young people and families to migrate elsewhere. Those who were left behind were less educated and older. In contrast, the economies of Central and Western Kentucky were more diversified and prosperous. The labor forces were relatively more stable and better educated.

Since 1968, improvements in job opportunities and socioeconomic conditions in Appalachian Kentucky have been observed. The poverty problem in 1978, for example, was not as serious as it was in 1968. Many counties in the region during the decade experienced population growth through migration. Yet, the economy of the region continued to trail behind those of Central Kentucky and Western Kentucky. In 1968, regional opportunities were relatively better in Western Kentucky than in Central Kentucky; but by 1978 the gap had been reduced substantially. As a matter of fact, the Western region appeared to be losing its leading position to the Central region. I will discuss these changes in more detail in Chapter Three².

2. A description of the socioeconomic conditions of the three Kentucky regions in 1968 can also be noted in the earlier studies by Bogie (1980), Lyson (1978), and Schwarzweller (1976, 1978).

2. Data Collection

The initial data were collected in 1968 by Harry K. Schwarzweller at the University of Kentucky. The follow-up study in 1978 was conducted by Donald Bogie in collaboration with Schwarzweller. In both instances, information was collected through a set of prepared questionnaires administered to graduating high school seniors in the classrooms of the selected schools during the months of April and May. In 1968, all high school seniors attending the school on the day of investigation participated in the study. Only a few cases were discarded because of incomplete and/or inconsistent responses. In 1978, however, the students were given a choice to participate (for the protection of privacy rights).

As shown in Table 2.1, a total of 1609 cases was obtained in 1968 (excluding Henderson County in Western Kentucky). Of these, 643 were from the depressed subsistence farming region of Eastern Kentucky. The prosperous commercialized agricultural Central Kentucky counties contributed 616 cases. The rest, 350, came from the rural/industrialized county (Davies) in Western Kentucky.

The follow-up study in 1978 yielded 1543 cases. Eastern Kentucky contributed 495 cases. Central Kentucky and Western Kentucky had 669 cases and 379 cases

**Table 2.1 Number of Respondents by Gender and Year
for Each County and Regional Area**

Region & County	Boys		Girls		Total	
	1968	1978	1968	1978	1968	1978
Grand Total	804	684	805	859	1609	1543
Eastern Ky	331	198	312	297	643	495
Breathitt	108	60	90	78	198	138
Elliott	23	22	28	18	51	40
Lee	40	44	42	45	82	89
Magoffin	56	8	43	32	99	40
Menifee	25	15	24	19	49	34
Owsley	25	13	20	27	45	40
Powell	26	10	41	33	67	43
Wolfe	28	26	24	45	52	71
Central Ky	292	323	324	346	616	669
Anderson	54	72	59	55	113	127
Clark	128	135	129	151	257	286
Jessamine	53	82	71	82	124	164
Scott	57	34	65	58	122	92
Western Ky	181	163	169	216	350	379
Daviness	181	163	169	216	350	379

respectively. The data set from Western Kentucky includes students from Apollo High School, a new school established in Daviess County in 1968. Some of the schools had changed their names since 1968. Salyersville High School, for example, has become Magoffin County High School; Sandy Hook High School was renamed Elliott County High School.

The inclusion of a new school does not disturb data

comparability because the students now at this school would have gone instead to Daviess County High School. School name changes, too, pose no threat to the validity of data. But, the way the questionnaires were administered and distributed might affect both the representativeness of the sample and the data validity in general.

3. Data Comparability

Action taken in 1978 for the protection of privacy rights while administering the questionnaires apparently reduced the response rate. It dropped from close to 100 percent of the students in school on a given day in 1968 to only about 70 percent in the follow-up of 1978. More boys than girls chose not to participate in the second round. As a result, girls were over represented with more than 55% in 1978 compared to about 50% in 1968. The difference in sexual representativeness between the two surveys was greater in the Eastern and Western Kentucky samples than in the Central Kentucky sample. Although both Eastern Kentucky (49% girls) and Western Kentucky (48% girls) regions contributed slightly more boys than girls in 1968, they were represented by only 40% and 43% boys, respectively, in 1978. Sex ratios in the data collected from Central Kentucky were about equal the two surveys, both composed of about 47% boys.

Although the two sets of data vary in sexual represent-

ativeness, they still display a high level of quality. Both are comparable to the Census data in farming background, rural residence, and educational attainment. The Census, for instance, lists the percent farm population for the Eastern, Central, and Western regions in 1970 as 26, 20, and 8 respectively; the percentages of respondents in the 1968 survey reporting that their fathers' main occupation is farming are 26 for Eastern, 24 for Central, and 14 percent for Western Kentucky. The 1980 Census indicates the farm population for the Eastern, Central, and Western regions as 10, 10, and 6 percent respectively. These figures concur closely with the farming information provided by the 1978 survey: 16 percent of the respondents from Eastern Kentucky reported their fathers as farmers compared with 11 percent from Central and 7 percent from Western Kentucky.

According to the 1970 Census, the most rural of these regions was Eastern Kentucky (100 percent rural). The Bluegrass region had only about half of its population classified as rural and the Western Kentucky region only about one third. This regional ranking in rurality is consistent with the percent of respondents in the 1968 survey who were farm residents (55, 37, and 28 percent respectively) and the percent who were living in rural areas (85, 58, and 65 percent respectively). Similarly, the 1980 Census recorded 93 percent of Eastern, 48 percent of Central, and 33 percent of Western Kentucky people as living

in rural areas; the 1978 survey found 87, 45, and 47 percent of respondents living in rural areas and 48, 25, and 18 percent of respondents living on farms for each region, respectively. The 1978 survey had a somewhat disproportionate number of Western Kentuckians reporting rural residency as compared with the 1980 Census reports.

Finally, the comparability between Census data and survey data can also be observed in parental educational backgrounds. According to the Census data³, parents from Eastern Kentucky are less likely to have a high school education than are parents from either Central or Western Kentucky in both periods, 1968 and 1978. In 1970, Eastern Kentucky counties had only 18 percent of the adult population who had high school diplomas whereas Central and Western Kentucky counties had 41 percent and 49 percent, respectively. By 1980, the adult population with a high school education in Eastern Kentucky had increased to more than 32 percent. This improvement was also experienced by Central and Western Kentucky, where the adult population with a high school education had jumped to 56 and 61 percent respectively.

Similar regional variations in parental educational backgrounds can also be observed from the survey data. In 1968, the respondents from Eastern Kentucky were more -----

3. The information was obtained and estimated from high school graduates among the general adult population.

likely to have parents who have no high school diplomas than those from either Central or Western Kentucky. Almost 80 percent of the respondents from Eastern Kentucky, for example, had mothers who had no high school diplomas, compared to only 52 percent of the respondents from Central Kentucky and 49 percent of the respondents from Western Kentucky. With regard to fathers' educational backgrounds, more than 80 percent of the respondents from Eastern Kentucky reported that their fathers had no high school diploma while only 63 percent of the respondents from Central Kentucky and 56 percent of the respondents from Western Kentucky did so. Although there were fewer respondents whose parents had no high school education in 1978 as inferred from the follow-up study, the Eastern Kentucky youth continued to trail behind the young people from Central and Western Kentucky in the parental educational backgrounds as it was shown in the Census data. The 1978 survey, for example, reveals that 67, 34, and 22 percent of the respondents whose mothers had no high school diplomas and 72, 43, and 30 percent of the respondents whose fathers had no high school diplomas are for Eastern, Central, and Western Kentucky respectively.

In conclusion, the data collected by the follow-up study in 1978 over-represented girls and under-represented boys. The situation was worse in the samples collected from Eastern and Western Kentucky than that from Central Kentucky. Despite these variations, the survey data have a

"high degree of congruence" with the 1980 census in regional information about residence, farming backgrounds, and parental educational attainment. The sampling episode will not, however, distort the results of this study because the study was designed to analyze data for boys and girls, respectively.

But, other discrepancies such as the instruments used to collect information about the study variables can affect the study outcome. In the next section I will introduce the main study variables and the instruments used in the two surveys. I will also discuss procedures used to eliminate inconsistencies in the instruments and to establish a sound basis for measurement comparability over time.

4. Career Values

Operationalization and measurement: Career values are special kinds of values or value orientations. Values are conceptions of desirability or preference (Kluckhohn 1976, Williams 1979, Rokeach 1979, 1984; and Spates 1984). A value is, according to Rokeach and Ball-Rokeach (1984), "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence." Operationally, a value can then be defined as

a preference or a choice made by a person when he or she is confronted by a set of alternatives about a particular mode of conduct or end-state of existence⁴. Accordingly, career values are the conceptions about an ideal work career; and can be operationally defined as "the empirically measured tendencies to prefer certain kinds of work-career conditions or end-states over others" (Schwarzweeller, 1978, p.189). They are sometimes referred to as work values or orientations (Fagenson 1986), occupational values (Mortimer and Lorence 1979), or career desiderata or orientations (Schwarzweeller 1978). The measurement of career values in this study is taken directly from the study of Career Desiderata of Rural Youth and the Structuring of Ambition by Harry K. Schwarzweeller (1978).

Six value variables, or foci of career interest (i.e., career values or "desiderata") were drawn into this exploratory project⁵. They are taken to measure emphases on or orientations toward: achievement/advancement, security, service to society, work with people, hard work, and money. These constituted a set from which hypothetical choices were to be made; emphasis placed on any one by a respondent as a career choice criterion forced a subsequent -----

4. This operational definition is derived from the definition given by Feather (1975).

5. The instrumentalization and the measurement procedure of these career desiderata were originally described by Schwarzweeller in the earlier studies (1978).

deemphasis of others. Thus, each is measured in terms relative to the entire given set; desiderata extraneous to this set, though they may enter into the career-decision making process and influence a youngster's career choice, are excluded from consideration by design.

The six orientation variables were derived from, and their specification is based upon the results of a content analysis of qualitative data obtained from representative groups of students prior to the formulation of a final survey instrument. Through a series of open-ended questions soliciting opinions about the characteristics of ideal work careers, a fairly wide range of orientational categories emerged. For research inquiry it was decided to include only those that were considered "important" by the pilot study groups (as suggested by frequency distributions) and clearly germane to the problem of career choosing.

A series of indicators was formulated for each category from the inventory of responses obtained during the pilot project phase (Appendix C). They were selected to convey in simple, everyday language or colloquialisms the central meaning implicit in the original category reduction. In the questionnaire, they were arranged into eleven sets of three alternatives from which the one most desirable condition was to be chosen from each set. Scoring was simple with each checked indicator contributing one point to its category score. Scores for any value ranged from 0 to 6

(for security, service, and advancement) and from 0 to 5 (for people, hard work, and money). The summated scales were trichotomized on the basis of observed frequency distributions. The cutting-points for both 1968 and 1978 surveys were identical.

This instrument, then, and the scoring procedures following, were designed to identify those respondents who, in choosing a work career, would be more inclined toward one or the other of six given orientational alternatives. If a youngster scores "high" on "security", for example, it means that he\she regards the security aspects of an occupation as being relatively important to him\her as compared with all other foci in this set. It does not necessarily mean, however, that he considers "security" specifically more important than any other foci in the set. Inferences about a hierarchy of values should be avoided. (The proper use of data generated by this instrument demands a comparative perspective. We may be able to say, for example, that girls are more service-oriented than boys. We must be very cautious, however, if we then attempt to infer that girls are service-oriented).

Value Themes: Conceptualized and measured as such, these career values appear to structure in a polarized form. As shown in Table 2.2, without regard to the gender of the respondents and the year of study, "security" and "money" are clustered as a value theme against the other value complex including "people" and "service". In other

words, those who value "security" are also likely to value "money"; while those who prefer "people" are also likely to choose "service" as their favored value. In addition, those who favor "security" and "money" are more likely to vote against "people" and "service" as the most important attributes of an ideal job, and vice versa. Nevertheless,

Table 2.2 Gamma Correlation Matrix of Career Values by Gender and Year

	1963 Boys					1978 Boys				
	Money	Achievement	Hard-work	People	Service	Money	Achievement	Hard-work	People	Service
Security	.36	-.05'	-.41	-.45	-.69	.19	-.12	-.29	-.47	-.70
Money		.04'	-.45	-.59	-.63		.09'	-.40	-.53	-.61
Achievement			-.29	-.19	-.46			.27	-.02'	-.38
Hard-work				-.12	.15				-.12	.07'
People					.36					.39

	1963 Girls					1978 Girls				
	Money	Achievement	Hard-work	People	Service	Money	Achievement	Hard-work	People	Service
Security	.42	.06'	-.31	-.44	-.71	.35	-.02'	-.41	-.53	-.64
Money		.03'	-.33	-.50	-.72		.07'	-.35	-.54	-.79
Achievement			-.05'	-.21	-.54			-.21	-.27	-.51
Hard-work				-.37	.01'				-.11	.05'
People					.25					.45

': Not significant at the probability of .05 by both chi-square and Kendall tau b.

the association between "security" and "money" appears to be relatively stronger for girls than for boys in both studies, 1968 and 1978, while the association between "people" and "service" is relatively stronger for boys than for girls in 1968, but the reverse in 1978. With respect to change from 1968 to 1978 for both boys and girls, the association between "security" and "money" appears to be

decreasing whereas the association between "people" and "service" is increasing. "Achievement" and "hard-work", the other two career desiderata, do not emerge as a meaningful value pattern.

Although "achievement" is negatively associated with both "people" and "service", it is not significantly linked to "security" and "money". "Achievement" is negatively associated with "security" among 1978 boys. Similarly, "hard-work" is negatively associated with both "security" and "money". Its association with "service" is rather weak or negligible; and its association with "people" appears be negative but not very substantial. In addition, the association between "achievement" and "hard-work" is not consistent between the boys and the girls over the years. The association appears to be negative for the 1968 boys but positive for 1978 boys. While the association is negatively associated for the 1978 girls, it is negligible for the 1968 girls.

As a result, the career values can be considered as a polarized concept with an emphasis on a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. Inference about career values and their association with other study variables must also take these value themes into account.

5. Other Study Variables

Career Plans: The other major study variables are career plans and social class origin. The special career plans of young people are believed to be at least partially a consequence of their career orientations. According to Schwarzweller (1978), career plans represent "concrete action decisions; and they are verbalized expression of intent for the attainment of a career goal. We can also treat career plans as indices of ambition, mobility orientations, and/or degree of commitment to "success values". Conceived in these terms, career plans and career desiderata may be regarded as similar kinds of phenomena⁶.

For this study college plan and occupational plan were observed. Both were derived from open-ended questions. Identical questions were used in both surveys. The question for college plan is "Do you actually expect to go to college after graduation from high school?". This question was preceded by the question: "If you could, and you were completely free to choose, would you go to college?"

6. Career plans can also be perceived as kinds of achievement ambitions discussed by Kenneth I. Spenner and David L. Featherman (1978). Both involve willingness to achieve a desired goal and calculating the possible barriers and the chance to succeed in obtaining the goal. Perhaps, career plans are loaded more with status attainment value than with career desiderata.

Responses to the college question were dichotomized. Those who answered "no" or "maybe" were regarded as having a negative attitude toward college education. The others, who responded "yes", were considered to have a positive attitude toward college education.

Information on occupational plans, in both surveys, was obtained by responses to the question: "What kind of work do you actually expect that you will be doing as a life-time occupation? Taking all things into account, what do you expect to do someday? (Be specific)". Open-ended responses were collapsed into a modified Edward's scale. Five major occupational categories were constructed: professional and high level technological (including administrative and business personnel), lower level white collar work (such as clerical workers, salespersons, administrative assistant), farm operators, skilled manual work, and semi-skilled and unskilled work.

For this study, occupational plans were further dichotomized into a manual and a nonmanual categories, and professional and non-professional categories. Those who plan on manual occupational work may have indicated an expectation to do farm work, skilled manual, semi-skilled, or unskilled work. In contrast, those who aim for a non-manual occupation work may be expecting to enter professional, high level technological, or white collar work. A professional work plan involves expectation to do professional or high level technological work whereas a non-

professional work plan includes planning on any other types of work. Those who responded as hoping to enter a professional and/or a nonmanual work were considered to have a relatively higher career aspiration than those who expected to enter a non-professional and/or a manual work.

Social Class Origin: Social class origin is taken into account as an independent variable in this study. A similar measurement procedure was used to establish social class origin in the 1968 and the 1978 studies⁷. Father's occupation (current occupation or, if deceased or unemployed, last previous occupation.) was classified into a "manual" and "nonmanual" categories. The "manual" category includes farmers, skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers. The "nonmanual" category includes professional and other white collar workers.

6. Strategy of Analysis

The process of status attainment is often believed to be similar for men and women (McClendon 1976); the same factors or models are often employed, for example, to

7. Father's occupational status in terms of manual-nonmanual classification stands out to be a better social class indicator in Appalachian Kentucky than is a composite socioeconomic status scale that combines measures of family level of living and father's educational status. For details, see Schwarzweller (1978) and Bogie (1970).

explain the variation in status attainment behavior (Rosen and Aneshensel 1978). However, the process is not really identical for both sexes (Rosen and Aneshensel 1978). At least, men and women do not share the same views about work and family.

Although women are becoming more concerned with having a work career outside the family (Regan and Roland 1982, Tallichet 1984) and more and more women are entering or expecting to enter occupations traditionally held by men (Lueptow 1981), the majority of women still work and/or expect to work in the traditional occupations dominated by their own gender (Woodworth 1981). At the same time, men and women appear to continue organizing their career-choosing behaviors along with different value lines (Howell et al 1981, Woodworth 1981, Walker et al 1982, Lindsay 1984, Beutell 1986, Fagenson 1986, and Schwarzweller 1978). Boys, according to Schwarzweller (1978), are far more concerned with security, money, and advancement opportunity than are girls. Girls, on the other hand, are inclined more toward social/expressive aspects of a work career, i.e., jobs dealing with people and offering opportunities to providing useful services for others.

For theoretical reasons and the practical consideration of a discrepancy in gender representativeness, my observation of the change in career values and their role in the relationship between social class origins and career plans was conducted separately for boys and girls, and from a

cross-regional longitudinal perspective. Specifically, I observed and compared Appalachian boys and girls with Central/Western Kentucky boys and girls from 1968 to 1978.

7. Statistical Techniques

Associations between career desiderata variables and their relationships to career plans and social class origins are examined by using both gamma correlation coefficients and chi-square significance tests. Gamma coefficient scores have a range between a negative one and a positive one. When gamma is equal to zero, there is no relationship between the variables. The chi-square was used to test for the substance of the associations at the probability of .05 level.

Both gamma and chi-square measures may be distorted by factors such as sample size, the number of rows and columns, the cell frequencies, and the marginal distributions (Blalock 1972, Reynolds 1977). Inconsistencies between gamma and chi-square sometimes occur. A substantial gamma score can occur with a chi-square test that is statistically non-significant. On the other hand, a negligible gamma score can be associated with a strong significant chi-square score. When an inconsistency occurs, a decision about accepting or rejecting the relationship was carefully made with consideration of the following situations:

First of all, the cell expected frequencies in the contingency table must be greater than 5 if the association is to be considered as substantial. On the other hand, the association is considered substantial if the sample size is relatively small and marginal frequencies are not skewed.

Secondly, gamma is a continuous and linear measure in contrast to chi-square which is only nominal in nature. The gamma score is used to interpret the association if the distribution of the frequencies in the contingency table appears to be nonlinear.

Finally, I also considered the factor of sample size. Generally, the larger the sample size, the larger the chi-square score, provided that other things are equal. Gamma is less sensitive to sample size factor than is chi-square. Therefore, gamma is a better measure when inconsistencies occur.

However, gamma is likely distorted when the marginal frequencies of a contingency table are not equal. In addition to gamma and chi-square, Kendall tau b, for a more reliable estimate, is also used to estimate the associations between variables. Kendall tau b which is an ordinal measure is a better measure than is gamma, particularly when marginal frequencies are not equal.

Chapter III

Appalachia: A Decade of Change

1. A History of Poverty

The discovery of coal and the development of this extractive industry over the past five decades gradually transformed Appalachian Kentucky into two distinct socioeconomic regions (Plunkett and Bowman 1973). The coal field counties became dependent upon externally controlled corporations and the world market prices for coal. Most coal miners and their families lived on the hills or in coal camps or towns organized and owned by the coal companies. People in the rest of Appalachian Kentucky continued to live on farms scattered throughout the hills, along the creeks, and in hollows and tried to survive as best they could from the land. Some years ago the United States Census Bureau recognized this regional differentiation; the coal field area was designated State Economic Area 9 and the remaining subsistence agricultural area as SEA 8. In many respects that delineation remains valid today.

The pressure of high fertility rates, fewer job opportunities, and a subsistence farming economy made it difficult to maintain an adequate living, let alone survive, in the non-coal area. Many people and families

were forced to accept welfare checks, food stamps, and/or other governmental subsidies as supplements to their meager incomes. Conditions were somewhat better in the coal mining area. Many coal miners were able to make a decent wage from their labor, especially if they were healthy, able to work, and employed by union mines. But, the regional economy and employment opportunities fluctuated with the demands for coal outside the region. Coal miners were laid off quickly when coal mines were closed due to declining demands. Coal miners and their families suffered even more, during the late 1950's and early 1960s, from the mechanization of coal production; "continuous miners," for instance, displaced thousands of workers. Many miners were laid off and never again called back to work. Like subsistence farmers in the non-coal area, they too were forced to live on welfare checks, food stamps, and other governmental subsidies.

Thus, during most of the 1950s, the entire Appalachian Kentucky area lacked in employment opportunities; even in the coal fields there was little hope and not much security. Many people, and sometimes entire families, left their homes in rural Appalachia for industrial centers where they expected more opportunities for employment and where they could look for a better life. As a result of mass exodus, through which family and kinship ties played a very important role in directing and facilitating the process (Schwarzweiler et al 1971), thousands and thousands of

Appalachian Kentuckians are now found in the northwestern industrial cities such as Cincinnati, Dayton, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago. As migrants, they had escaped unemployment and the poverty of Appalachian Kentucky.

During the Kennedy Era, national attention was focussed on the problems of poverty, especially in Appalachian Kentucky where there was considered to be the hard core of the problems (Mann 1972). Writers, journalists, religious missionaries, politicians, and governmental representatives were "attracted" to roam the area. Recommendations and viewpoints were expressed and spread in local and national newspapers and other mass media. Governmental policies and programs were initiated in order to break the cycle of poverty and unemployment, and to slow down the migration stream.

Many of the governmental activities, including federal programs on food stamps, veterans benefits, and others, had no doubt relieved some hardship experienced by the local people. But, the most important and significant policy for the poverty problem was the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1964. Under this Act vocational training schools and centers were established and new highways linking the isolated mountain towns and villages to the outside world were designed or put under construction. These projects and many others were administered with intent to attract private capital to invest into the local economy and to create jobs for local people. The impact of these

projects and activites is not a little matter as we indicated earlier¹.

However, this chapter is not written to evaluate the Federal policy of Appalachian Regional Development Act. The focus is instead on the structural change of the region, which might or might not be a consequence of the policy. I am especially concerned with changing regional demographic and economic characterisitics with an emphasis on the subsistence agricultural area, and their impact upon the life chances of young people living there. My discussion in this chapter will be limited to changes during

1. A number of reports of progress were published in Parks and Recreation by the Appalachian Regional Commission. According to the statistics supplied by ARC, Appalachian poor were better off than they were before the federal government turned its attention to the area. Improvements were found in health care and housing in 1980. Personal income also had risen, as had the population especially in Southern Appalachia, where thousands of former residents streamed back to Kentucky, West Virginia and Virginia following the coal boom of the mid-1970s. The more reliable information, though not directly linked to ARC policies, can be inferred from quality-of-life studies. In the study of Ann D. Watts (1981), Appalachia as a whole was found faring considerably more poorly in objective measures of quality of life than the non-Appalachia area. Rural Appalachia displayed the worst quality -of-life statistics, while urban Appalachia had the best statistics in 1970. Another study by Cynthia Duncan and Ann Tickamyer (1982) reported a relatively small difference between Appalachain counties and the rest of Kentucky in life satisfaction indices in 1980. Nevertheless, Appalachian counties had the lowest satisfaction ratings in the state as well as a number of the very high ones. The satisfaction appeared to be associated with manufacturing industries rather than with extractive industries.

the decade of 1968-1978, based upon information learned from the survey data and the demographic data derived from the reports and estimates by the U.S. Bureau of Census². I will observe, first, population change and then socio-economic change. Finally, I will discuss change in the career ambitions of young people living there.

2. Recent Trends: Migration and Population Growth

Population characteristics can affect and be affected by socioeconomic conditions of a social system. I will however focus here only on those characteristics that may reflect the environmental change of Appalachian Kentucky.

Although Appalachian Kentucky was relatively more isolated than many parts of America before 1968 because of its rugged mountainous topology, the region was not completely cut off from the rest of the nation. Neither was the region underdeveloped in a sense which resembles Third World countries today. As a matter of fact, the region had been for some time integrating gradually into the mainstream of the greater society. During the decade

2. Some of the information was derived from the US Census 1970s and 1980s. A comparison of the census data between 1970s and 1980s can provide a fair estimate of demographic and economic changes during the decade of 1968-1978.

of 1960-1970, demographic measures of Appalachia such as mortality rate and fertility rate were found to be similar to national patterns (Brown 1970). The question was not whether the region was being integrated into the American society, but how it was being integrated with a concern about the adaptational difficulty encountered by the people living there (Schwarzweiler 1970). Many studies conducted in the 1970s acknowledge that the region was in a transitional period (Photiadis and Schwarzweiler 1970, Schwarzweiler 1970). Other researchers such as Thomas Ford (1962) and Jack Weller (1965, 1974) report that the provincialism of the region was lost in the transition along with many of its traditional social and cultural characteristics.

But, the region is still behind the rest of the nation, especially in education (Branscome 1976, DeYoung and Porter 1979, Reck and Reck 1980) and economy (Fleming, II 1969, Watts 1981, Royalty 1975). The lack of opportunities in education and economy continue to 'push' people to move away from the region during the decade of 1960-1970. All the counties representing Eastern Kentucky in this study lost population through migration, even though the level of their natural increase was comparable to that of Central Kentucky and of Western Kentucky (Table 3.1). The counties with greater coal mining activities such as Breathitt and Magoffin had the greatest loss. In contrast, both Central Kentucky and Western Kentucky experienced population growth.

Table 3.1 Percents in Population Change, Natural Increase and Net Migration by Regional Area, County, and Time

Area & County	Percent Population Change		Percent Natural Increase		Percent Net Migration	
	1960-70	1970-77	1960-70	1970-77	1960-70	1970-77
Eastern Kentucky						
Breathitt	-3.2	20.6	13.7	7.3	-21.9	13.3
Elliott	-6.3	1.9	11.2	2.9	-17.5	-1.0
Lee	-11.2	10.3	9.1	3.7	-20.3	6.7
Magoffin	-6.4	12.8	15.5	10.9	-21.9	7.9
Menifee	-5.3	11.9	10.4	5.2	-15.7	6.7
Owsley	-6.4	11.6	10.3	4.9	-16.7	6.7
Powell	15.4	13.0	15.4	9.4	0.0	3.6
Wolfe	-13.2	13.6	10.0	5.1	-23.2	8.6
Central Kentucky						
Anderson	3.6	20.7	7.5	4.9	1.0	15.3
Clark	14.3	9.8	11.6	6.0	2.7	3.8
Jessamine	27.9	32.2	11.2	3.9	16.7	23.3
Scott	16.7	9.7	10.4	5.2	6.3	4.5
Western Kentucky						
Daviess	12.6	3.1	14.1	5.7	-1.5	-4.1

Source: County and City Data Book, U.S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census, 1977.

However, the trend was reversed during the next decade, 1970-1980s. All the counties in Eastern Kentucky experienced population growth (Table 3.1). According to the reports of the US Census Bureau, the population of Eastern Kentucky increased from 59,630 in the 1970s, to 73,806 in the 1980s with a growth rate of 19 percent. Although the rate was slightly lower than that of Central Kentucky (23%), it was more than double the rate of Western

Kentucky (8%). The growth of Eastern Kentucky counties was primarily obtained through migration, with the exception of Elliott County (Table 3.1). Although Elliott continued to experience net out-migration, the rate was reduced from 20% during the decade of 1960-1970, to only about one percent during the decade of 1970-1980.

The migration turnaround occurred at a time when many Americans were searching for their ideal living place, and moving from metropolitan cities to small towns, villages, or open country in nonmetropolitan areas (Beal 1975, Cambell, and Roseman 1977, Zuiches and Fuguitt 1972). But, more than likely, it was only a reaction to the economic depression of the industrial cities in the Ohio valley and Great Lakes region as a result of the energy crisis, and the rejuvenization of coal industries and the booming economy in Appalachia. Most of the new population was probably returning Appalachian migrants from the industrial cities. They came back to the area to stay with their relatives and to wait until the economy in the cities recovered, as many of their ancestors or they themselves did before³. On the other hand, the depression in the cities and the increasing opportunities in coal industries might discourage

3. The migration was found by Leinback and Cromley (1982) only moderately related to employment in manufacturing and mining industries during the period 1968-1978. It supports my view that most of the migrants moving into the region during the period were originally from the region or related to the local people with kinship ties.

people from seeking employment elsewhere, or to leave their home region.

3. Socioeconomic Conditions

There has been some progress in the socioeconomic condition of the Appalachian region since the year of 1968 as it reflected in population data. Socioeconomic indicators such as civilian labor force, occupational structure, and family income, provide other evidence of improvement.

The chronic problems of poverty and outmigration had degraded the regional labor force for many decades. Many villages and communities in Eastern Kentucky experienced manpower loss, especially via those who are young and strong with potential leadership. However, a stronger labor force, which is fundamental to economic development, had surged since 1968. Although it was still behind the other two Kentucky regions, the Eastern Kentucky labor force was increased from about twenty-three percent in 1970 to thirty-six percent in 1980 (Table 3.2). Since the labor force in agriculture and manufacturing was declining, as it happened elsewhere in the nation, most of the increase was probably contributed by those in the sectors of coal and service industries. The labor force in coal mining was for example increased from 5% in 1970 to about 10% in 1980. The change

in the labor force apparently concurred with the change in the occupational

Table 3.2 Selected Socioeconomic Characteristics by Regional Area and Time

Socioeconomic Characteristics	Eastern Kentucky		Central Kentucky		Western Kentucky	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
% Civilian labor force	22.6	36.1	40.4	53.7	39.3	49.1
% Agriculture	8.6	3.2	12.2	6.2	4.3	3.1
% Mining	5.2	9.5	0.3	0.3	1.5	1.9
% Manufacturing	14.0	12.9	25.1	12.2	28.2	21.2
% Black population	0.3	0.3	7.4	5.4	4.1	3.9
% Rural population	100.0	93.0	49.0	42.0	33.0	33.0
% Farm population	25.7	9.7	20.3	9.9	7.3	5.5
Median family income (dollar)	3,731	9,575	7,302	21,300 ¹	3,627	21,500 ¹
Index to State median income	50.1	51.2	104.3	116.7	115.9	115.1
% Family living below poverty level	47.1	40.7	15.7	13.2	11.9	13.1
% High school graduates among adult population	19.3	32.6	40.3	50.6	43.9	51.3

Source:

1. County and City Data Book, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.
2. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 and 1980 Census of Population.

Note: 1. Average median family income for counties in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA).

structure of the region. The fathers of the respondents

in our surveys were more likely to be working in mining and nonmanual occupations in 1968 than in 1978 (Table 3.3). They were more likely to be white collar workers. On the other hand, their chances to be working in agriculture were reduced by more than 10% from 1968 to 1978.

The improvement was found not only in the quantity of labor force but also in its quality. Both Census data and survey data indicate that more people completed high school education and beyond in 1978 than in 1968. The number of high school graduates among the adult population (Table 3.2), for example, increased from 18% in 1970 to about 37% in 1980. At the same time, more fathers and mothers of our respondents were reported to have high school education and beyond in 1978 than in 1968 (Table 3.3). But, the region continues to lag behind the other Kentucky regions in educational attainment (Table 3.2 and Table 3.3).

In addition, family income, which has the most urgent and significant impact upon consumer behavior and living style, also shows signs of improvement. Appalachian families in 1980, on average, were making more than double their income in 1970 (Table 3.2). However, the real income gain was relatively small when it was compared and adjusted to statewide median family income and the median family incomes of the other Kentucky regions. In fact, Appalachian families made only about half of the state median family income while families of both Central Kentucky and Western

Kentucky fared above the state average. As a consequence, although fewer families were living below the poverty level in 1980 than in 1970, the problem seemed to persist (Table 3.2). In 1980, there were still more than forty percent of

Table 3.3 Selected Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents by Regional Area and Time

Socioeconomic Characteristics	Eastern K.		Central K.		Western K.	
	1969	1973	1969	1973	1969	1973
Total number of cases	643	495	617	669	351	379
Mother's education						
% less than high school	73.6	66.3	52.2	33.5	49.0	21.5
% high school graduates	10.4	21.5	29.4	42.5	32.2	50.4
% more than high school	11.0	11.7	18.4	23.9	18.8	28.1
Father's education						
% less than high school	92.0	72.4	62.7	42.6	55.5	30.4
% high school graduates	9.0	15.4	17.2	30.6	25.2	32.1
% more than high school	9.0	12.2	20.1	26.8	19.3	37.5
Father's occupation						
% farming	26.3	16.4	24.3	11.4	13.5	5.9
% mining	3.9	10.7	0.0	0.3	0.4	4.0
% nonmanual	16.5	21.5	27.9	39.4	27.2	43.1
% professional	10.7	11.5	15.9	15.0	13.9	17.1
Residence						
% living on farm	55.0	43.0	37.0	25.0	29.0	13.0
% living in rural area	84.8	86.8	89.0	85.2	85.2	86.8

families living below the poverty level there (Eastern Kentucky). The figure for poverty families was more than double that of Central Kentucky, and more than triple that of Western Kentucky.

Thus, the intertwined effects of public and private

development programs with the energy crisis of 1970 and the rejuvenization of coal industry, might have resulted in a better economic condition, at least for the time being, in the subsistence agricultural region of Appalachian Kentucky. Although the socioeconomic condition continued to lag behind that of Central Kentucky and Western Kentucky, opportunities for employment and possibly upward mobility, especially, in the coal industries, appeared to be greater in 1978 than in 1968. It is therefore expected that improvement of the socioeconomic conditions would be reflected in career ambitions expressed by high school seniors who were at the threshold of graduation.

4. Opportunities and Surging Career Ambitions

Career ambition reflects the preferred career goal a person expects or anticipates obtaining. In other words, it expresses personal values or orientation toward various career options or alternatives. At the time of graduation from high school, a high school senior must decide seriously whether to go on to college in order to seek managerial or professional types of work. If he or she wants to enter the labor market after high school graduation, they must include an option of thinking of leaving the area for better employment opportunities elsewhere, especially if they don't foresee a prospect at

the home region. In this section I will compare various career plans indicated by the young people between the years 1968 and 1978.

As reported in the earlier studies (Schwarzweiler 1973, Lyson 1978, and Bogie 1977), the career ambition of high school senior boys is relevant to the opportunity structure of a region. The region appears to have little effect on the career ambition of high school senior girls except migrational expectation. In general, it is believed that the level of ambition is positively related to both the distribution of regional opportunities and the perception of the opportunities. In addition, the regional context tends to reinforce the effect of social class origin. That is, the regional effect appears to be greater for the young people from blue collar class families than for the young people from white collar class families. Thus, the career ambition expressed by young people can also reflect the condition of regional socioeconomic characteristics.

As indicated in Table 3.4, high school senior boys from Eastern Kentucky in 1968 were less likely to indicate an expectation for college education, to enter nonmanual and/or professional occupational work than their counterparts from Central Kentucky and Western Kentucky. The high school senior girls from Eastern Kentucky did not display any significant difference from the high school seniors from either Central Kentucky or Western Kentucky. Both boys and girls were more likely to report an expectation to

move away from their home region than were their counterparts from Central Kentucky and Western Kentucky.

Like their counterparts from Central Kentucky and Western Kentucky, high school senior boys from Eastern

Table 3.4 Percent of Respondents Planning on Various Career Goals by Gender, Regional Area, and Year

Career Goals	Sex	Eastern K.		Central K.		Western K.	
		1968	1973	1968	1973	1968	1973
College education							
	Boy	34	23	43	33	53	45
	Girl	32	39	32	43	44	49
Nonmanual work							
	Boy	35	31	54	47	52	59
	Girl	21	79	25	72	26	23
Professional work							
	Boy	25	25	36	23	41	33
	Girl	30	25	25	29	24	24
Migration							
	Boy	57	44	53	42	51	49
	Girl	77	44	57	47	51	43

Kentucky in 1978 appeared to be less concerned with (but not in any significant quantity) career goals including planning for college education, for nonmanual work, and professional work than their predecessors in 1968.

However, the difference was smaller among the boys from Eastern Kentucky than among the boys from either Central Kentucky or Western Kentucky. As a result, the gap in the

level of career ambition between the boys from Eastern Kentucky and the boys from other Kentucky regions became smaller. But, the Appalachian boys continued to lag behind other Kentucky areas, especially those from the Western region.

Unlike their boy counterparts, high school senior girls from Eastern Kentucky in 1978 did not display any change, as compared with their predecessors in 1968, in reference to their concerns about career goals regarding college and occupational plans. They continued to express similar orientations toward their career plans as those expressed by their counterparts from either Central Kentucky or Western Kentucky.

However, both the boys and the girls in 1978 were found to be less concerned with migration plans as an alternative choice for employment and upward mobility than their predecessors in 1968. Although the young people from Central Kentucky and the girls from Western Kentucky also reported a decline in their migration plans from 1968 to 1978, it was much smaller than that of Eastern Kentucky. As a result, the difference between Appalachian youths and other Kentucky youths was diminished. The ambition expressed by the young people at school also suggested that the environmental situation of the Appalachian region was better in 1978 than in 1968.

5. Structural Transformation and Career Values: A Discussion

The observation of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, and of the career ambitions of young people confirmed a steady improvement in the regional environment and in the life chances for upward mobility. Compared to the year of 1968, rural Appalachia in Eastern Kentucky had a stronger base of labor force not only in quantity but also in quality. More adults had high school education and beyond. Although the region had a decline in agricultural and manufacturing activities as had happened elsewhere in the nation during the 1970s, it was able to create and attract labor into its extractive and probably service industries.

Though most of them are low level white collar workers, the increase in the coal mining and service jobs appears to help many local families to maintain a minimum standard of living. They continued to make an average family median income equivalent to half of the state family median income, while their counterparts in Central Kentucky and Western Kentucky maintained a level above the state average. Fewer families were living below the level of poverty in 1978 than in 1968.

Perhaps because of the success of developmental programs, both public and private, and the energy crisis in

the 1970s, many Appalachians in the industrial cities were returning 'home' to Eastern Kentucky. Some of them probably took advantage of coal rejuvenization and returned to work in the coal fields. Many Appalachians were encouraged to stay in the region instead of seeking migration for employment. The impact appeared to spread over to the young people still in school. The number of young people seeking migration had been reduced from 1968 to 1978 to a level that they were no longer differentiable in that action from their counterparts from Central Kentucky or Western Kentucky⁸.

Although the young people of Appalachian Kentucky did not increase their career ambition as suggested by the improvement in the regional conditions, they committed a relatively smaller reduction compared to that of the other Kentucky youth in Central Kentucky and Western Kentucky. As a consequence, the regional differences appeared to be diminishing.

In spite of the improvement, Appalachian Kentucky continues to lag behind the other Kentucky regions in almost all aspects of life. There are still too many people living below the poverty level. Nevertheless, the change is expected to affect the mental perception of the young people when they are confronted with considering the

8. It is very likely that some of young people interviewed in 1978 were returned migrants and that their views might dilute the regional variation.

opportunity structure as a part of their strategy in job hunting and status attainment. In the next chapter I will discuss the perception of the young people about their ideal jobs and the change of this perception.

Chapter IV

STRUCTURING OF CAREER VALUES

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, socioeconomic changes in the rural Appalachian region of Eastern Kentucky during the 1968-78 decade were compared with changes in the Bluegrass area of Central Kentucky and in the industrialized area of Western Kentucky. Under the leadership of the Appalachian Regional Commission and prompted by the efforts of development programs, both public and private, the economy and opportunity structure of the region became much brighter in 1978 than it had been in 1968. Some of the credit must be attributed to the unexpected energy crisis; greater opportunities for employment were no doubt promoted by the rejuvenization of extractive industries and the reopening of coal mines as a response to the crisis. But, the social and economic conditions of the region in 1978 were still lagging behind that of Central and Western Kentucky.

In any case, expansion of the coal industry and the taste of a booming economy disturbed Appalachian communities and the mountain way of life. Young people living there were certainly altering their views about the world, and about what they regarded to be an ideal work career. In

addition, the energy crisis and the development of the regional economy undoubtedly accelerated the integration process through which this once remote region is being brought closer not only to the rest of the nation, but also to the rest of the world. Young people have become more exposed to outside influences, especially through the mass media and the liberalizing curricula of modern schools. As a consequence, their beliefs and values relative to work and career are probably drifting closer toward norms found throughout American society.

2. Changing Patterns of Career Values, Over Time

The pattern of career foci or values of Appalachian girls in Eastern Kentucky (Fig.4.1), during the decade from 1968 to 1978, manifested, as shown in Table 4.1, some slight change; however, little change, if any, was observed for Appalachian boys (Fig.4.2). "Money" seems to have become a more important matter for Appalachian girls, while a concern for advancement has become somewhat less important.

Similarly, in Central and Western Kentucky, girls also experienced a greater change in pattern than did boys. To Central and Western girls (Fig.4.3), job "security" and the "money" matter were becoming more important issues in a work career while the ethic of hard work and the opportunity to serve society were becoming less important.

**Percent Girls Highly Oriented Toward
Selected Career Foci: Appalachian
Kentucky, 1968 and 1978**

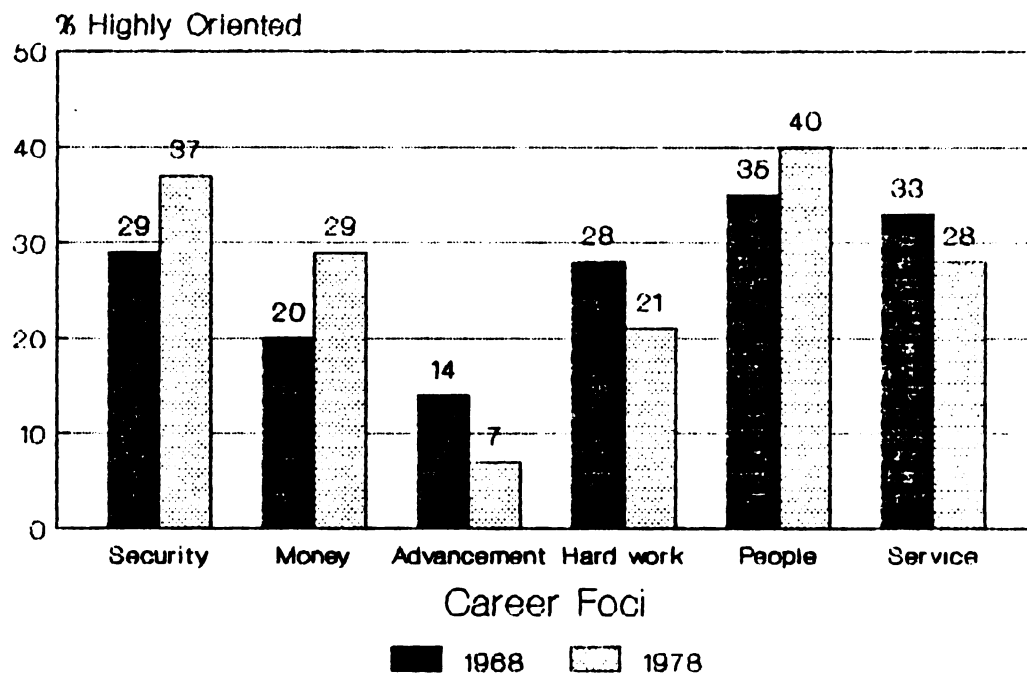


Fig. 4.1

**Percent Boys Highly Oriented Toward
Selected Career Foci: Appalachian
Kentucky, 1968 and 1978**

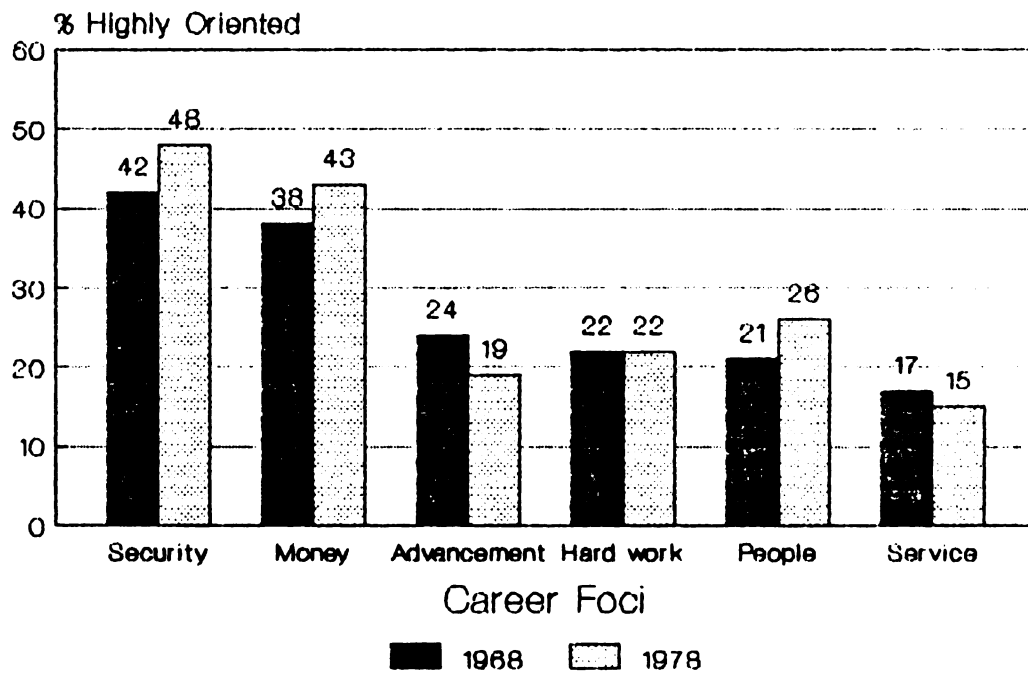


Fig. 4.2

**Percent Girls Highly Oriented Toward
Career Foci: Central/Western Kentucky,
1968 and 1978**

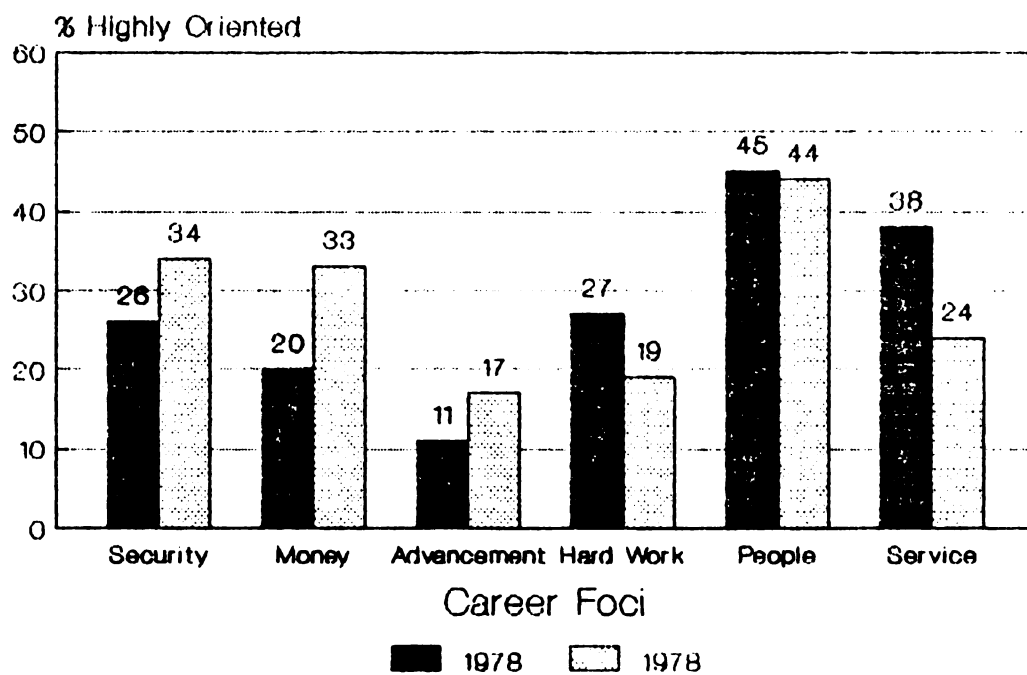


Fig. 4.3

**Percent Boys Highly Oriented Toward
Career Foci: Central/Western Kentucky,
1968 and 1978**

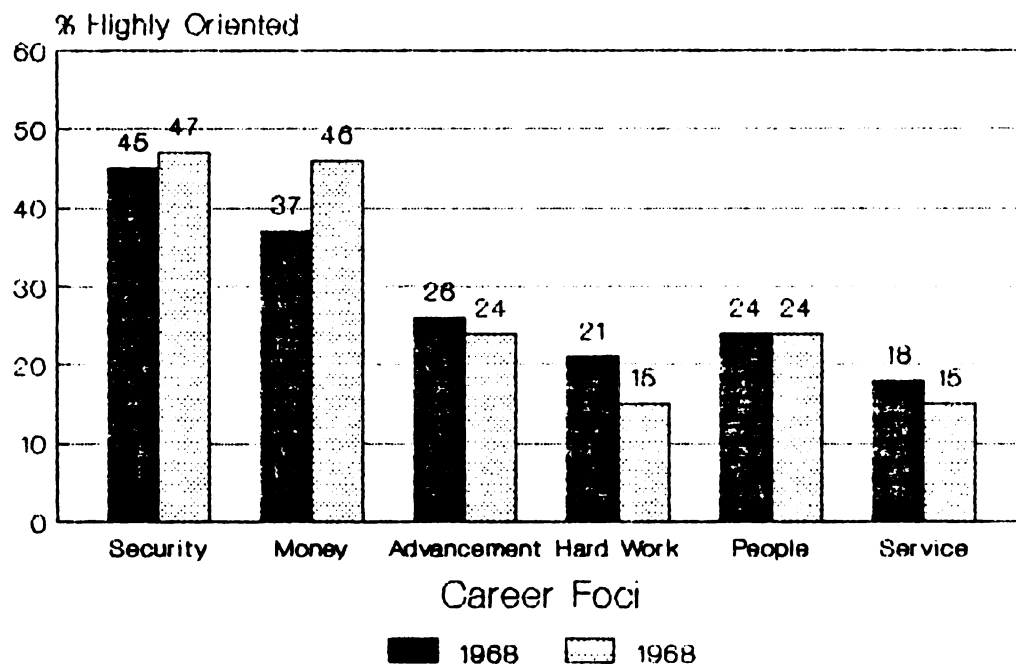


Fig. 4.4

Table 4.1 Percentage of Graduating Seniors Highly Oriented Toward Selected Career Foci, by Gender, Year, and Regional Area

Eastern Kentucky						
Year	Security	Money	Advancement	Hardwork	People	Service
Boys (N=513)						
1968	42	38	24	22	21	17
1978	42	42	19	22	26	15
Gamma ^a	.05	.03	-.13	-.02	.06	-.11
Girls (N=603)						
1968	29	20	14	28	35	33
1978	37	29	7	21	40	28
Gamma ^a	.11	.14 ^a	-.16 ^a	-.11	.11	-.11
Central and Western Kentucky						
Year	Security	Money	Advancement	Hardwork	People	Service
Boys (N=895)						
1968	45	37	26	21	24	13
1978	47	46	24	15	24	15
Gamma ^a	.03	.17 ^a	-.04	-.13 ^a	-.06	-.12
Girls (N=1003)						
1968	26	20	11	27	45	38
1978	34	33	17	19	44	24
Gamma ^a	.16 ^a	.27 ^a	.11 ^a	-.17 ^a	-.06	-.30 ^a

^a Significant difference at .05 level by chi-square test with 2 d.f. and Kendall's tau b.

^b Gamma, based on trichotomy, comparing the valuational pattern for 1968 with that of 1978.

Though to a lesser degree than their girl counterparts, and in contrast to Appalachian boys who showed little change in their views about a work career, boys in Central and Western Kentucky (Fig.4.4) appeared to have an increased

concern about "money" and a lesser concern for "hard work".

Thus, despite progress in social and economic conditions, the perceptions of Appalachian youth about what constitutes an ideal work career did not display a significant shift toward favoring work with people and serving society, as was predicted. Indeed, only in the case of girls did the pattern appear to be disturbed; security and monetary issues seemed to have become more appealing to Appalachian girls while the chance for advancement became less attractive.

Overall, the pattern of change among Appalachian youth was similar to that of young people from Central and Western Kentucky. In both cases, in the Eastern as well as in the Central and Western regions, girls manifested a stronger pattern of change than did boys. There seemed to be a convergence in value pattern occurring between girls and boys.

3. Gender Variations

The convergence trend, where girls appear to be modifying their traditional career views and possibly adopting norms traditionally held by boys, has not yet diminished gender differences. As in Central and Western Kentucky, the career values of Appalachian youth were found to vary by gender in both years, 1968 and 1978. (Table 4.2 reports gamma associations; percentage variations can be

**Percent Boys and Girls Highly Oriented
Toward Selected Career Foci, 1968
Appalachian Kentucky**

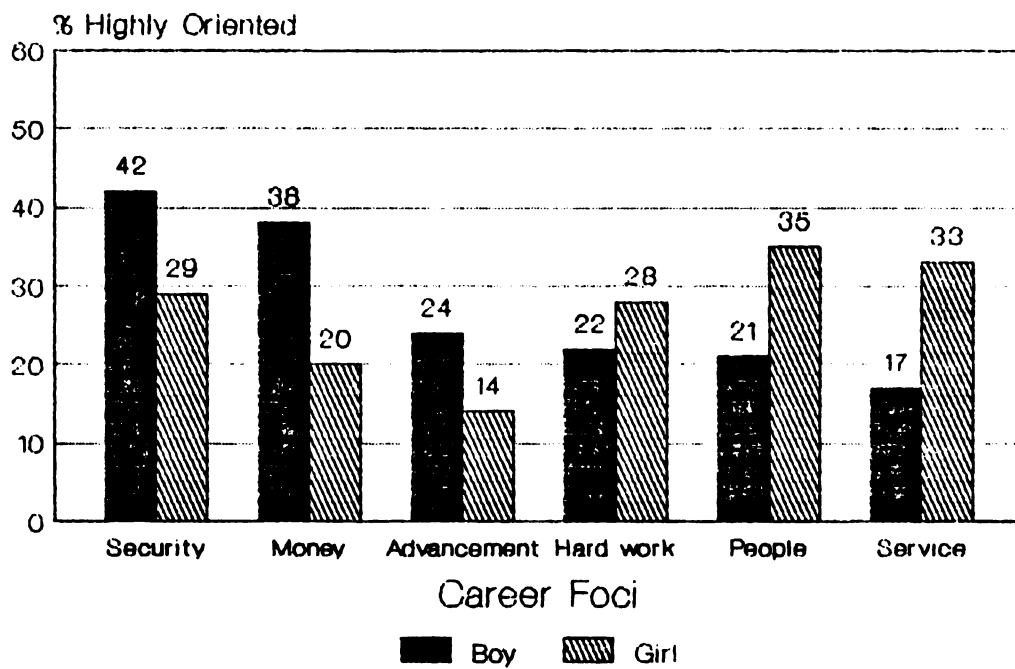


Fig. 4.5

**Percent Boys and Girls Highly Oriented
Toward Selected Career Foci, 1978
Appalachian Kentucky**

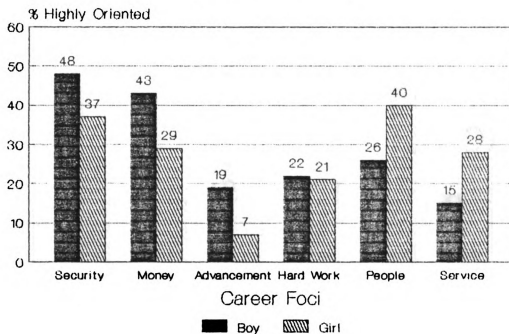


Fig. 4.6

**Percent Boys and Girls Highly Oriented
Toward Selected Career Foci, 1968
Central/Western Kentucky**

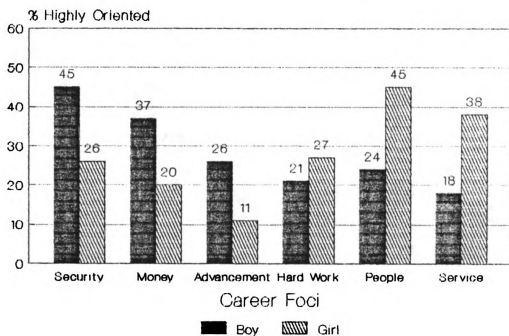


Fig.4.7

**Percent Boys and Girls Highly Oriented
Toward Selected Career Foci, 1978
Central/Western Kentucky**

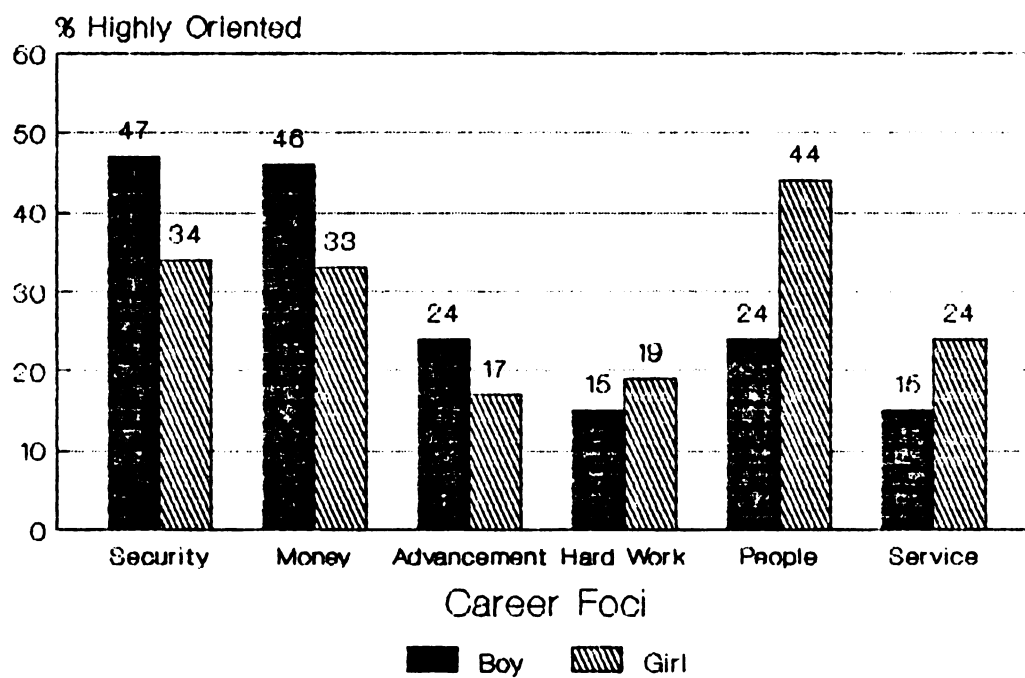


Fig. 4.8

observed in Table 4.1) Emphasized more strongly by boys are "security", "money", and "advancement", while emphasized more strongly by girls are "hard work", "people", and "service", but with one exception. The ethic of hard work, which was regarded as a relatively more important attribute of an ideal job in 1968 by Appalachian girls than by Appalachian boys, was no longer gender distinctive in 1978.

Table 4.2 Gammas. Based on Trichotomy. Comparing the Valuational Pattern for Boys with that of Girls[§], by Regional Area and Year

Year	Security	Money	Advancement	Hard work	People	Service
Eastern Kentucky						
1968 (N=636)	-.29	-.33	-.26	.17	.23	.34
1978 (N=485)	-.20	-.27	-.29	.09 [*]	.32	.34
Central & Western Kentucky						
1968 (N=961)	-.34	-.37	-.42	.18	.40	.44
1978 (N=937)	-.22	-.27	-.27	.19	.37	.27

§ A negative gamma means that the value expression is favored by boys whereas a positive gamma indicates that girls are more inclined toward the specific value expression.

* Not significant at .05 level by chi-square test with 2 d.f. and Kendall's tau b. All others are significant.

In addition to a reduction in gender differential for the value on hard work, the gender gap in orientations toward "security" and "money" also became narrower in 1978 in the Appalachian case. Nevertheless, these gender reductions were not so intensive and widespread in the

Appalachian case as among young people in Central and Western Kentucky. In Central and Western Kentucky, noteworthy gender reductions were also manifested in the emphasis on job advancement and service to society.

Accordingly, in both Eastern Kentucky and Central/Western Kentucky, the valuational changes from 1968 to 1978 reduced but did not completely eliminate the gender gap. Girls continued to favor hard work, working with people, and service to society while boys continued to emphasize the importance of advancement, security, and monetary affairs. Did the valuational changes affect or reduce regional variations?

4. Regional Variation

As shown in Table 4.3, there was little, if any, difference in the patterning of career values for Appalachian boys and Central/Western Kentucky boys in both years, 1968 and 1978. Likewise, career values for girls did not appear to vary much by region. As expected, Appalachian girls in 1968 tended to emphasize more strongly the "security/money" themes, while Central/Western Kentucky girls emphasized more strongly the "people/service" theme. However, these minor differences disappeared by 1978.

Interestingly, among girls a stronger regional shift in "advancement" orientation emerged in 1978. Appalachian

girls were somewhat less likely to emphasize the importance of "advancement" over other value foci than were Central/Western Kentucky girls. For instance, only seven percent of the Appalachian girls in 1978 considered job advancement

Table 4.3 Gammas. Based on Trichotomy. Comparing the Valuational Pattern for Eastern Kentucky with that of Central/Western Kentucky^a, by Gender and Year

Year	Security	Money	Advancement	Hardwork	People	Service
Boys						
1968(N=794)	-.01	-.05	.05	.01	.05	-.04
1978(N=619)	-.02	.04	.15	-.15	-.06	-.05
Girls						
1968(N=803)	-.09	-.11 ^a	-.12	.00	.13 ^a	.09
1978(N=803)	-.03	.04	.14 ^a	-.05	.02	-.11

^a A negative gamma means that the value expression is favored by high school seniors living in Eastern Kentucky. A positive gamma indicates that high school seniors living in Central and Western Kentucky are more inclined toward the specific value expression.

^{*} Significant at .05 level by chi-square test with 2 d.f. and Kendall's tau b.

relatively more important than other career foci as compared to more than seventeen percent of the other Kentucky girls.

It appears that Appalachian youth, at least in the case of job perspectives, were already reflecting the mainstream of American society in 1968; the process of coming together was advanced even further by 1978, and seems to suggest a final stage of assimilation or acculturation. Perhaps the integration of Appalachian youth into general American

society had started earlier, or was more intensive for boys than for girls. As the region becomes more firmly integrated into the fabric of American society, the valuational patterns of young people may become basically indistinguishable from that of other American youth, at least, in terms of what they are looking for in their careers and jobs. Thus, the region where they live will have lost at least some of its cultural idiosyncrasy; the lack of distinction in the job perspectives of Appalachian youth from that of Central/Western Kentucky youth may be a sign of this process. One must still ask, however, if career values affect or "discriminate" the career-choosing behaviors of Appalachian youth from those of other Kentucky youth? And, if so, did the pattern of discrimination change from 1968 to 1978?

5. Career Values and Career Ambition

It can be seen in Table 4.4 that, as in the case of Central and Western Kentucky, career values were associated with the career ambitions of Appalachian youth in 1968, and that the associations were polarized along a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. Those who expressed a high level of career ambition, such as planning for a college education, or a professional and/or a non-manual work career, were more likely to value "people/

Table 4.4 Gammas Showing Relationships Between Career Values and Career Plans,
by Gender, Regional Area, and Year

Year	Plans	Security	Money	Advancement	Handwork	People	Service
Eastern Kentucky							
Boys							
1963	College (N=325)	-.19*	-.13	.06	.07	.03	.21*
	Profession (N=294)	-.26*	-.16	-.00	.06	.19	.29
	Nonmanual (N=294)	-.24*	-.27*	.02	.09	.21	.25*
1972	College (N=192)	-.15	-.17	-.01	-.14	.04	.37*
	Profession (N=169)	-.15	-.15	-.36*	.05	.11	.43*
	Nonmanual (N=169)	-.25	-.13	-.24	-.13	.15	.47*
Girls							
1963	College (N=311)	-.23*	-.16	-.14	-.19	.11	.35*
	Profession (N=253)	-.15	-.15	-.15	.00	.04	.35*
	Nonmanual (N=253)	-.21	-.22*	-.29*	.07	.14	.27*
1972	College (N=291)	-.03	-.07	-.01	-.15	.12	.21
	Profession (N=254)	-.12	-.12	.06*	-.04	-.03	.26*
	Nonmanual (N=254)	-.02	-.20	.05	.08	-.10	.12
Central & Western Kentucky							
Boys							
1963	College (N=469)	-.49*	-.17	-.07	.05	.21*	.43*
	Profession (N=426)	-.48*	-.26*	-.12	.05	.25*	.42*
	Nonmanual (N=426)	-.42*	-.22*	-.12	.06	.20*	.36*
1972	College (N=419)	-.33*	-.12	-.11	-.13*	.34*	.33*
	Profession (N=363)	-.26*	.09	.01	-.39*	.30*	.19*
	Nonmanual (N=363)	-.37*	-.03	.04	-.21*	.39*	.24*
Girls							
1963	College (N=492)	-.34*	-.32*	-.27*	-.14	.23*	.54*
	Profession (N=410)	-.26*	-.23	-.33*	-.30*	.17	.58*
	Nonmanual (N=410)	-.40*	-.13	-.23	.24*	-.06	.37*
1972	College (N=509)	-.01	.03	.01	-.19*	-.01	.13*
	Profession (N=457)	-.14	-.09	.05	-.08	-.02	.26*
	Nonmanual (N=457)	-.00	-.12	.06	-.03	.11	.09

* Significant at .05 level by chi-square test at 2 d.f. and Kendall's tau b.

Cells with expected frequency less than 5.

service"; those expressing lower levels of career ambition were more likely to value "security/money". But, the associations appear somewhat more diffused and less polarized for boys than for girls.

By 1978, the associations among Appalachian girls as well as among Central and Western Kentucky girls were found to be disappearing, with one exception. Though to a lesser extent than in 1968, an orientation of "service to society" continued to "discriminate" the career ambitions of Appalachian girls from that of Central and Western Kentucky girls. Those who expressed a service orientation were more likely to indicate an ambition to pursue a college education, a professional, and/or a non-manual work career than others who were less inclined toward service.

As with Central and Western Kentucky boys, career values continued to discriminate the career ambitions of Appalachian boys in 1978. And, the pattern in 1978 was much the same as in 1968. In other words, those who expressed a higher level of career ambition were more likely to value "people/service" and less likely to value "security/money". On the other hand, those who expressed a lower level of career ambition were more likely to value "security/money" and less likely to value "people/service".

Relatively speaking, the associations were less polarized and more diffused in 1978 than in 1968, particularly in the case of Central and Western Kentucky boys. In addition to

"security/money" themes and "people/service" themes, for example, the orientation of job advancement was, to some extent, negatively associated with the career ambitions of Appalachian boys while the orientation of hard work was negatively associated with the career ambitions of Central and Western Kentucky boys.

6. Summary

Appalachian Kentucky, during the 1970s, was gradually becoming integrated into the fabric of the greater American society, and the socioeconomic conditions of the region were becoming remarkably improved. Hence, we would expect that regional idiosyncrasies were likely to be diminishing. My observations of the job perceptions of young people from 1968 to 1978, with respect to gender, region, and career ambition tend to support this assertion.

From 1968 to 1978, Appalachian girls manifested slight changes in their perspectives about an ideal job. Contrary to my prediction, they were becoming more concerned with "money" but less concern with "advancement". Only minor changes were noted among Appalachian boys.

A much greater and diffused change was noted among other Kentucky youth, particularly the girls. Girls in the Central/Western region manifested an increasing concern for "security", "money", and "advancement" and a decreasing

concern for "hard work" and "service to society" while Central/Western region boys displayed only an increasing concern for "money" and a decreasing concern for "hard work".

Oriental changes apparently reduced the gender gap somewhat, particularly in the emphasis on money and security, but not in the emphasis on working with people and serving society. The gender difference reduction for Appalachian youth was nevertheless smaller and less diffused than that for other Kentucky youth who also showed a narrowing of the gender gap in the emphasis on job advancement and serving society. The increasing money and security concerns by girls over the years did not, however, completely diminish the gender gap. In both Eastern Kentucky and Central/Western Kentucky, girls continued to value hard work, working with people, and serving society whereas boys continued to value security, money, and job advancement. But, gender differences among Appalachian youth in the emphasis on hard work disappeared in 1978.

As a matter of fact, the pattern of orientations of Appalachian youth was very similar to that of other Kentucky youth. Only minor differences were observed between Appalachian girls and Central/Western Kentucky girls. As predicted, Appalachian girls were more likely to emphasize money; Central/Western Kentucky girls were more likely to emphasize working with people. These differences however were no longer apparent by 1978.

The similarity between Appalachian youth and other

Kentucky youth was also noted in the pattern specifying the relationship between career values and plans for upward mobility. Career values were seen to be associated with ambition. Those who express an ambition for upward mobility, such as planning for a college education, a professional and/or nonmanual work career are more likely to emphasize working with people and serving society; those who are less ambitious are more likely to emphasize security and money affairs. The associations seemed rather stable for boys but not for girls. No significant associations were found in 1978 for Appalachian girls nor for other Kentucky girls. Though this does not necessarily mean that there was/is no relationship between career values and ambition for upward mobility, the relationship was no doubt being weakened.

Perhaps something else other than career values are becoming more accountable for the career decisions of young girls in America as our society opens more doors and provides more opportunities, both political and economical, to women; more and more American women are actually leaving their homes and working in the job market. But, would the processes of changing with respect to job perspectives and career ambition be the same for those from working class families as for those from white collar families?

Chapter V

CAREER VALUES AND CLASS ORIGINS

1. Introduction

In this chapter, social class origin is introduced as a condition that impacts both career values and upward mobility plans. Social class origin undoubtedly intervenes or produces a joint effect, with gender, upon the relationships between career values and status attainment behavior. My aim here, then, is to determine how class origin enters into the career planning process through values. And, I will view this phenomenon from a longitudinal perspective.

One should note, at the outset, that the majority of Appalachian youth in these samples are from blue collar families (469 cases or 83% in 1968 and 301 cases or 79% in 1978) and only a comparatively few are from white collar families (94 cases or 17% in 1968 and 82 cases or 21% in 1978). Because of the relatively small number of cases at the white collar level, the focus of my controlled analysis, after some basic comparable observations, will be on blue collar class youth and their upward mobility patterns. A dichotomized career value scale will be used instead of the trichotomized scale, in order to accommodate the analysis strategy to the small number of white collar cases. All value scales except the security variable are skewed toward the higher score (the security variable is skewed toward

the lower score). Therefore, to facilitate analysis I have collapsed the middle and the highest categories of the trichotomized scales into a single "high" value for comparison with the low category. This dichotomized version of measurement is used throughout my multivariate analysis.

2. Class Origins and Career Ambition

Social class is theoretically and empirically an important factor in career choosing and status attainment behaviors. It is not surprising to find that among Appalachian boys, as among other Kentucky boys, career ambition was positively related to social class origins in 1968 and in 1978. (Tables 5.1 and 5.2) In both cases and in both years, boys from white collar families, for example, were more than twice as likely as those from blue collar families to indicate an expectation to go to college and to attain a professional and/or nonmanual work career. It is quite a surprise, however, to find weak associations between social class origins and career ambitions for Appalachian girls in 1968. The unusually high level of career ambitions expressed by blue collar Appalachian girls, in comparison to that of their white collar counterparts, had been reported by Schwarzweller (1973) in an earlier study.

Thus, in contrast to the pattern demonstrated by Central/Western Kentucky youth, the associations between

social class origins and career ambitions were relatively

Table 5.1 Percent Graduating Seniors Planning for College,
Professional, and Nonmanual Work, by Gender,
Regional Area, Year, and Father's Occupation

Career Plans	1968			1978		
	Father's Occupational Status			Occupational Status		
	Manual	Nonmanual	(N)	Manual	Nonmanual	(N)
Eastern Kentucky						
Boys						
College	23	64	(290)	22	56	(150)
Profession	22	46	(264)	21	65	(132)
Nonmanual	33	59	(264)	24	63	(132)
Girls						
College	36	55	(290)	30	71	(239)
Profession	28	44	(228)	22	43	(210)
Nonmanual	31	90	(229)	77	96	(210)
Central & Western Kentucky						
Boys						
College	39	72	(461)	31	56	(410)
Profession	33	51	(422)	21	46	(376)
Nonmanual	43	79	(422)	37	69	(376)
Girls						
College	31	63	(470)	34	69	(496)
Profession	16	45	(394)	25	41	(453)
Nonmanual	33	94	(394)	79	36	(453)

weaker for Appalachian girls than for Appalachian boys. No gender variation is noted among Central/Western Kentucky youth.

The gender variation in the associations for Appalachian youth nevertheless was not apparent in 1978. There was no significant difference between boys and girls. However, certain variations emerged among Central/Western Kentucky

youth. For example, the associations were relatively weaker for girls than for boys in terms of planning for professional

Table 5.2 Gammas. Comparing Upward Mobility Plans of Blue Collar Class Youth and White Collar Class Youth, by Gender, Regional Area, and Year^a

	Career Plans	Eastern Kentucky		Central/Western Kentucky	
		1963	1973	1963	1973
Boys					
	College	.63	.63	.60	.49
	Profession	.48	.75	.36	.51
	Nonmanual	.50	.74	.60	.53
Girls					
	College	.37	.70	.65	.63
	Profession	.33 ^a	.47	.62	.37
	Nonmanual	.36 ^a	.73	.55	.25 ^a

^a A positive gamma indicates that blue collar class youth are less likely to aspire to upward social mobility than are youth from white collar class origins.

^a Not significant at .05 level by chi-square test with 1 d.f. and Kendall's tau b. All others are significant.

and/or nonmanual work careers, but stronger for girls than for boys in terms of planning for a college education. That is, the class effect on career ambitions and hence status attainment was relatively more stable for boys than for girls. The structuring processes of career choosing and status attainment for girls were probably still in the making.

In general, it can then be said that the influence of social class origins on career ambitions varied somewhat by gender and regional context. In other words, social class origins seemed to reinforce the gender conditioning effect;

and this reinforcement may be reflecting the particular circumstances of the regional economy. But, did social class origin have any conditioning effect on valuational changes over time? In the next section I will examine the patterning of valuational changes while controlling social class origin.

3. Class Origins and Career Values: Pattern Changes Over Time

From Tables 5.3, and 5.4, I note that the career values of Central/Western Kentucky youth were changing moderately from 1968 to 1978, regardless of their gender and social class origins. The changes were polarized along a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. The "security/money" theme was emphasized more in 1978 whereas the "people/service" theme was emphasized more in 1968.

Changes experienced by the white collar girls in Central/Western Kentucky were more diffused; changes also occurred in valuing "advancement" and "hard work". These white collar girls were increasingly likely to value job advancement and less likely to value the ethic of hard work. In contrast, the major change noted for the white collar boys in Central/Western Kentucky was in lesser emphasis on the "people/service" theme.

During this same period the career values of Appalachian

Table 5.3 Percent Graduating Seniors Highly Oriented Toward Specified Career Field, by Year, Father's Occupation, Gender, and Regional Area

Father's		Year	Security	Money	Advancement	Handwork	People	Service
Occupation								
Eastern Kentucky								
Boys								
Manual (N=350)								
	1968		91	59	56	44	51	44
	1978		87	66	53	46	49	33
Nonmanual (N=83)								
	1968		33	66	43	45	51	36
	1978		83	53	25	44	53	50
Girls								
Manual (N=420)								
	1968		77	44	42	56	63	62
	1978		81	47	35	51	72	55
Nonmanual (N=93)								
	1968		37	33	34	55	63	60
	1978		65	42	26	54	76	65
Central & Western Kentucky								
Boys								
Manual (N=543)								
	1968		37	54	57	43	52	39
	1978		89	65	52	41	42	34
Nonmanual (N=304)								
	1968		30	53	53	40	54	50
	1978		82	66	60	32	54	36
Girls								
Manual (N=634)								
	1968		76	35	35	57	71	64
	1978		78	42	38	52	68	50
Nonmanual (N=307)								
	1968		64	40	29	52	31	75
	1978		83	54	40	39	66	49

Table 5.4 Gammas (Based on Dichotomy) Comparing Valuational Patterns of High School Seniors in 1978 and in 1968, by Father's Occupation, Gender, and Regional Area^a

		Father's					
		Occupation	Security	Money	Advancement	Hardwork	People Service
Eastern Kentucky							
Boys		Manual	-.22	.16	-.06	.03	-.04
		Nonmanual	.01	-.27	-.38	-.00	.03
Girls		Manual	.14	.07	-.15	-.09	.20
		Nonmanual	-.57 [*]	.19	-.19	-.02	.20
Central and Western Kentucky							
Boys		Manual	.10	.22 [*]	-.11	-.14	-.13 [*]
		Nonmanual	.08	.16	.04	-.18	.01
Girls		Manual	.06	.26 [*]	.08	-.10	-.07
		Nonmanual	.45 [*]	.29 [*]	.23	-.27 [*]	-.35 [*]

^a A positive gamma indicates that high school seniors in 1978 were more favorable toward the values; a negative gamma indicates that high school seniors in 1968 were more favorable toward the values.

^{*} Significant at .05 level by chi-square test with 1 d.f. and Kendall's tau b.

youth were changing only among blue collar boys and white collar girls. Blue collar boys were becoming less likely to emphasize "service to society" while white collar girls were becoming less likely to emphasize "security". Additionally, though not substantial, an interesting pattern of valuational changes from 1968 to 1978 seemed to emerge among Appalachian white collar boys and girls. The changes appeared to be polarized along a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. However, the direction

was opposite from that of Central/Western Kentucky youth. Instead, the "security/money" theme was more likely to be emphasized in 1968 whereas the "people/service" theme was more likely to be emphasized in 1978.

Thus, the expression of career values by Appalachian youth was changing from 1968 to 1978. The changes were somewhat diversified by social class origins. Those from blue collar families were changing in a direction similar to that of Central/Western Kentucky youth; those from white collar families were changing in an opposite direction. The differentiation of career values by social class origins seemed to accelerate among Appalachian youth; at the same time a convergence of class values was happening among other Kentucky youth. Nevertheless, these valuational changes did not actually reflect the changing economic scene in Appalachian Kentucky.

Still, as demonstrated by our data, social class origins manifested some reinforcing effect on career values and their changes. I will explore this issue further in next section.

4. Class Origins and Career Values: Associational Changes Over Time

As demonstrated in Table 5.5, career values in 1968 were somewhat associated with social class origins for

young people in Central/Western Kentucky. As reported earlier by Schwarzweller (1978), the associations were polarized toward a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. Those from blue collar families were more

Table 5.5 Gammas (Based on Dichotomy) Comparing the Valuational Patterns of Blue Collar Class Youth and White Collar Class Youth, by Gender, Regional Area, and Year*

Gender	Year	Security	Money	Advancement	Hardwork	People	Service
Eastern Kentucky							
Boys							
	1963 (N=294)	-.36 [#]	.15	-.27	.01	.01	-.13
	1978 (N=149)	-.13	-.29	-.55 [#]	-.03	.08	.35
Girls							
	1963 (N=279)	.35	-.12	-.16	-.01	.11	-.05
	1978 (N=234)	-.40 [#]	.01	-.20	.07	.11	.21
Central & Western Kentucky							
Boys							
	1963 (N=458)	-.25	.09	.02	-.15	.34	.02 [#]
	1978 (N=394)	-.26	.03	.17	-.20	.24 [#]	.05
Girls							
	1963 (N=469)	-.27 [#]	.11	-.12	-.10	.25	.26 [#]
	1978 (N=472)	.15	.14	.03	-.27 [#]	-.05	-.02

* A positive gamma indicates that working class youth (high school seniors) are more inclined toward the value; a negative gamma indicates that white collar youth are more inclined toward the value.

[#] Significant at .05 level by chi-square test with 1 d.f. and Kendall's tau b.

[#] Cell with expected frequency less than 5.

likely to value the "security/money" theme; those from white collar families were more likely to value the "people/service" theme. However, no associations are noted among

Appalachian youth. There was no significant distinction in valuational expression between youth from blue collar and white collar class families.

By 1978, the associations displayed by Central/Western Kentucky boys remained polarized toward a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. But, the associations between social class origins and career values noted in 1968 became negligible for Central/Western Kentucky girls. Instead, a negative association on "hard work" emerged. Those from blue collar families became more likely to value hard work than did those from white collar families.

In contrast, a negative association on "advancement" was noted for Appalachian boys in 1978. Blue collar boys (53%) were more likely to emphasize job advancement than were white collar boys (25%). And, a negative association on "security" is found among Appalachian girls. Blue collar girls (81%) were more likely to emphasize job security than were white collar girls (65%). In general, though not strongly, a new pattern of associations between career values and social class origins seemed to emerge. The associations appeared to be polarized toward a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. And the manner of the polarization was similar to that of Central/Western Kentucky boys.

Thus, the patterning process of career values by social class origins was different between Appalachian youth and Central/Western Kentucky youth. In 1968, career values were

associated with social class origins more so for Central/Western Kentucky youth than for Appalachian youth. Since then, a convergence of class values seemed to be occurring among Central/Western Kentucky girls. No change is noted on the associations between social class origins and the career values of Central/Western Kentucky boys. At the same time, class values were becoming diversified for Appalachian youth. Like the pattern manifested by Central/Western Kentucky boys, the associations between career values and social class origins would be polarized toward a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. In the next section I will examine the impact of social class origins on gender and career values.

5. Gender and Class Effects in Career Values

As shown in table 5.6, career values are differentiated by gender for Appalachian youth as well as for Central/Western Kentucky youth. But, the extent of differentiation varies by social class origins and regional context.

Gender differentiation is noted on all value foci for blue collar youth in Eastern Kentucky as well as in Central/Western Kentucky. Girls were more likely to value "hard work", "people", and "service to society"; boys were more likely to value "security", "money", and "advancement". The pattern and the manner of the differentiation remained

unchanged from 1968 to 1978 for Central/Western Kentucky

Table 5.6 Gammas (Based on Dichotomy) Comparing Valuational Patterns of Boys and Girls, by Father's Occupation, Regional Area, and Year^a

Father's Occupation	Year	Security	Money	Advancement	Hardwork	People	Service
Eastern Kentucky							
Manual	1963 (N=469)	-.51	-.29	-.28	.22	.25	.34
	1978 (N=301)	-.20 ^a	-.37	-.36	.10 ^a	.46	.43
Nonmanual	1963 (N=94)	.17 ^a	-.51	-.13 ^a	.21 ^a	.34	.14
	1978 (N=82)	-.45 ^a	-.10 ^a	.03 ^a	.20 ^a	.45	.30 ^a
Central & Western Kentucky							
Manual	1963 (N=670)	-.35	-.33	-.43	.19	.40	.47
	1978 (N=512)	-.39	-.34	-.27	.23	.50	.33
Nonmanual	1963 (N=257)	-.33	-.36	-.54	.23 ^a	.56	.50
	1978 (N=354)	.01 ^a	-.24	-.39	.15 ^a	.25	.25

^a A positive gamma means that boys are more inclined toward the value; a negative gamma indicates that girls are more inclined toward the value.

^a Not significant at .05 level by chi-square test with 1 d.f. and Kendall's tau b.

youth. But, gender difference in career values was less diffused for Appalachian youth in 1978 than in 1968. Appalachian girls continued to favor orientations toward "people" and "service to society" whereas Appalachian boys continued to emphasize the orientations toward "money" and "advancement". The differences in the "security" and "hard work" values became negligible in 1978.

Gender differences in career values were less diffused for white collar youth than for blue collar youth. Unlike

their blue collar counterparts, white collar youth in Central/Western Kentucky, for example, manifested no significant gender difference in the orientation toward "hard work". Furthermore, gender differences were much less diffused for white collar youth in Eastern Kentucky. Among these Appalachian youth gender differences were observed only in the orientations toward "money", "people", and "service to society". Girls were more likely to emphasize "people" and "service to society"; boys were more likely to emphasize "money". Little gender difference, if any, is noted in orientations toward "security", "advancement", and "hard work".

Though the manner remained the same, the gender differences manifested by white collar youth became less diffused from 1968 to 1978 in both Eastern and Central/Western Kentucky. By 1978, for example, in addition to orientation toward "hard work", differences in "security" and "service to society" also became negligible for Central/Western Kentucky youth. A greater reduction is noted among Appalachian youth. In addition to "security", "advancement", and "hard work", little difference is noted in orientations toward "money" and "service to society".

As a result, it can be seen that social class origin reinforces the gender effect on career values. But, does social class origin explain or specify a regional effect on career values? In the next section, social class origin will be introduced to examine the expression of career

values among Appalachian and Central/Western Kentucky youth.

6. Region and Class Effects in Career Values

As shown in Table 5.7, regional differences in career values are noted among both blue collar and white collar girls in 1968. The differences were polarized toward a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme.

Table 5.7 Gammas (Based on Dichotomy) Comparing Valuational Patterns of Appalachian and Central/Western Kentucky Youth, by Father's Occupation, Gender, and Year^a

Father's Occupation Year		Security	Money	Advancement	Hardwork	People	Service
Boys							
Manual	1963 (N=561)	-.22	-.09	.02	.07	.02	-.12
	1972 (N=337)	.10	-.04	-.03	-.10	-.13	.02
	1963 (N=131)	-.10	-.16	.31	-.09	.05	.27
	1972 (N=206)	-.03	.27	.63*	-.26	.03	-.25
Girls							
Manual	1963 (N=573)	-.03	-.19*	-.15	.03	.19*	.03
	1972 (N=676)	-.11	.00	.08	.03	-.05	-.10
Nonmanual	1963 (N=170)	-.53*	.03	-.11	-.07	.32	.34
	1972 (N=230)	.43*	.13	.30	-.31	-.24	-.33

^a A negative gamma indicates that Appalachian youth (high school seniors) are more inclined toward the value; a positive gamma indicates that Central/Western Kentucky youth are more inclined toward the value.

* Significant at .05 level by chi-square test at 1 d.f. and Kendall's tau b.

Appalachian girls were more likely to value the "security/

money" theme whereas Central/Western Kentucky girls were more likely to value the "people/service" theme. However, regional differences were not evidenced either among blue collar boys nor among white collar boys.

By 1978, the moderate regional differences manifested by blue collar girls disappeared. And, a reverse pattern is found among white collar girls. Appalachian girls became more likely to emphasize the "people/service" theme; Central/Western Kentucky girls became more likely to emphasize the "security/money" theme.

Regional differences in career values remained negligible for blue collar boys in 1978, as they did in 1968. In contrast, a difference emerged among white collar boys in 1978. Appalachian boys (25%) were less likely to emphasize "advancement" than were Central/Western Kentucky boys (60%).

More interestingly, though not as clearly discernable, a new pattern seemed to evidence a regional distinction in value expressions among white collar boys. Like that manifested by white collar girls, Appalachian boys appeared to be more likely to emphasize the "people/service" theme; Central/Western Kentucky boys tended to be more likely to emphasize the "security/money" theme.

These findings suggest that a convergence of the valuational expressions of Appalachian youth closer to the urban American norms characterized by Central/Western Kentucky youth probably occurred earlier for boys than for

girls. As the region becomes further integrated into the fabric of American society, the valuational expression of blue collar girls will probably also reflect national norms. However, the expressions of white collar boys and girls appear to be drifting away from national norms. Apparently, Appalachian youth from upper class families did not join the national trend when most American young people were becoming more concerned with extrinsic values than with intrinsic or people values.

7. Career Values and the Upward Mobility Plans of Blue Collar Class Youth

As indicated earlier in this chapter, my analysis strategy has been modified to accomodate the small number of white collar cases. The focus of this section will be on blue collar youth; those from white collar families are excluded¹. The purpose is to examine the association between career values and the upward mobility plans of blue collar youth.

1. the skewedness of the "security" variable is responsible for some contingency tables with cell expected frequencies less than 5. Direct inference from the statistics derived from these tables must be used with caution. A good judgement can nevertheless be made by taking into account the consistent patterns in the association between "security" and various planning behaviors, and the consistent patterns between the associations with the "security" variable and the associations with the "money" variable. Both "security" variable and "money" variable are measuring the same

Career ambitions were associated with career values for both boys and girls from working class origins in 1968. (Table 5.8) Those who expressed an ambition for upward mobility plans, such as expecting to go on to college, to attain a professional, and/or a nonmanual work career, were more likely to emphasize the "people/service" themes; those who were less ambitious were more likely to emphasize the "security/money" themes. The associations were relatively more diffused and less polarized for girls than for boys in Central and Western Kentucky. But, the pattern of associations between career values and career ambitions was not so obvious in Eastern Kentucky.

In 1978, career values were also associated with career planning behaviors for boys in both Eastern Kentucky and the Central/Western Kentucky areas. Those who expressed a strong ambition for upward mobility plans were more likely to value working with people and serving society; those who were less ambitious were more likely to value money and job security attributes. However, among the girls in both regional areas the associations were diminishing from 1968 to 1978.

Thus, career values appeared to be rather important as motivational forces for upward mobility plans for blue collar class youth. Those who expressed an ambition for upward mobility plans were more likely to value the "people/service" theme while those who were less ambitious were more ----- aspect of career values as demonstrated in Chapter Two.

Table 5.3 Gammas Showing Relationships Between Career Values and Career Plans of Working Class Youth, by Gender, Year, and Regional Area

		Career						
Year		Plans	Security	Money	Advancement	Handwork	People	Service
Eastern Kentucky								
Boys								
1963	College	-.43	-.34'	.14	.14	-.03		.09
	Profession	-.53*	-.37'	-.12	.07	.11		.16
	Nonmanual	-.29	-.43'	.01	.03	.22		.15
1972	College	-.32*	-.39	.19	-.25	-.23		.56'
	Profession	-.51*	-.34	-.42	.20	.40		.47
	Nonmanual	-.56*	-.31	-.23	.04	.41		.53'
Girls								
1963	College	-.43'	-.13	-.17	-.23	.10		.36'
	Profession	-.24	-.26	-.19	-.00	.05		.51'
	Nonmanual	-.22	-.09	-.39'	-.03	.07		.33
1972	College	.23	-.05	.02	-.16	-.06		.04
	Profession	-.26	-.05	.24	-.15	.03		.09
	Nonmanual	.07	-.17	.02	.01	.13		.07
Central & Western Kentucky								
Boys								
1963	College	-.71'	-.17	-.24'	.11	.20		.42'
	Profession	-.68'	-.25	-.14	-.00	.23		.41'
	Nonmanual	-.57'	-.23	-.15	.05	.15		.34'
1972	College	-.45'	-.16	-.23	-.30	.13'		.39'
	Profession	-.31*	-.05	-.12	-.59'	.35		.11
	Nonmanual	-.36	.00	-.03	-.31	.41'		.22
Girls								
1963	College	-.39'	-.33'	-.29*	-.03	.10		.53'
	Profession	-.37'	-.29	-.45'	-.34'	-.03		.74'
	Nonmanual	-.45'	-.23	-.27	.41'	-.13		.35'
1972	College	-.05	-.02	.02	-.17	-.03		.21
	Profession	.04	-.13	.10	-.34'	-.16		.32'
	Nonmanual	.10	-.19	.04	-.07	.10		.13

* Significant at .05 by both chi-square with 1 d.f. and Kendall's tau b.

Cell with expected frequency less than 5.

likely to value the "security/money" theme. In other words, the chance for upward mobility would increase if they carried (or were socialized for) the career values that were usually carried by white collar class youth. However, career values became less powerful discriminators of career ambitions among both Appalachian and Central/Western girls in 1978. Something else, other than career values, is apparently having more impact upon career choosing and status attainment behaviors since 1968.

8. Summary

Social class origin, in association with gender and region, was introduced into the analysis of relationships between career values and upward mobility behavior. In this way I aimed to identify the role of social class in specifying the relationship between career values and career ambition. Mainly, I was seeking information about upward mobility behavior, in particular, of blue collar youth in Appalachian Kentucky.

Social class origin was found positively associated with career ambition in both years, 1968 and 1978, in Appalachian Kentucky as well as in Central/Western Kentucky. Blue collar youth were less likely to have upper status mobility plans than were white collar youth. But, the associations

were less consistent, as observed over time, for girls than for boys.

Social class origin was also found, in 1968, moderately associated with career values for Central/Western Kentucky youth but not for Appalachian youth. The associations manifested by Central/Western Kentucky girls disappeared in 1978. At the same time, new associations seemed to emerge among Appalachian youth. Like the pattern manifested by Central/Western Kentucky boys, but not as substantial, these associations were structured along a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. Blue collar boys and girls were more likely to emphasize the "security/money" theme; white collar boys and girls were more likely to emphasize the "people/service" theme.

In addition, social class origin specified the patterning of career values with respect to change over time, gender, and region. During the decade between 1968 and 1978, young people were changing their perspectives about an ideal job. The change was somewhat reinforced by social class origins. But, the nature of social class effect was different between Appalachian youth and Central/Western Kentucky youth. From 1968 to 1978, young people in Central/Western Kentucky were becoming more concerned with the "security/money" theme and less concerned with the "people/service" theme. The change was more pervasive for white collar girls than for blue collar girls. But it was less pervasive for white collar boys than for blue collar

girls. However, the issue for Appalachian youth was not the pervasiveness but the direction of the change.

Unlike Central/Western Kentucky youth whose perceptions were changing in the same direction across gender and social class lines, the perceptions of Appalachian youth were changing in different directions. Though moderate changes were noted only among blue collar boys and white collar girls, white collar youth were becoming less likely to emphasize the "security/money" theme whereas blue collar boys were becoming less likely to emphasize the "people/service" theme. This suggests a trend for Appalachian youth from blue collar origins to be approaching the valuational norms of urban America, as manifested by Central/Western Kentucky youth. At the same time, Appalachian youth from white collar origins are drifting away from it.

Social class origin was also noted to be reinforcing gender effects in career values. Career values were differentiated by gender not only in Appalachian Kentucky but also in Central/Western Kentucky. In general, girls were more likely to emphasize "hard work", "people", and "service"; boys were more likely to emphasize "security", "money", and "advancement". But, the difference was more diffuse for blue collar youth than for white collar youth.

From 1968 to 1978, the gender difference became less widespread. The changes were relatively greater for white collar youth than for blue collar youth and were relatively greater for Appalachian youth than for other Kentucky youth.

It appears that there was a convergence in value expressions between boys and girls, particularly among white collar youth in Appalachian Kentucky. Nevertheless, career values remained structured by gender in Appalachian Kentucky as well as in Central/Western Kentucky. A new pattern of structuring emerged along a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. Girls tended to emphasize the "people/service" theme; boys were prone to emphasize the "security/money" theme. But, it was still more diffused and less polarized for blue collar youth than for white collar youth.

Social class origin played only a minor role in patterning career values by regional context. As a matter of fact, the only regional variation was found among girls in 1968. And it was not specified or reinforced by social class origin. The differences were structured along a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. Appalachian girls, regardless of their social class origins, were more likely to emphasize the "security/money" themes; Central/Western Kentucky girls were more likely to emphasize the "people/service" themes. By 1978, the difference manifested by blue collar girls disappeared. But, a reverse pattern was noted among white collar girls. Appalachian girls became more likely to value the "people/service" theme whereas Central/Western Kentucky girls became more likely to value the "security/money" theme.

Finally, in 1968, the associations between career

values and career ambition were observed among blue collar boys and girls in both Appalachian and Central/Western Kentucky regional areas. As predicted, those who expressed upward mobility plans were more likely to emphasize the "people/service" themes; those who were less ambitious were more likely to emphasize the "security/money" themes. But, the associations were relatively more diffused and less polarized among the girls than among the boys. By 1978, career values were still associated with the career ambitions for boys. However, the associations between career values and career ambitions became negligible for girls.

As a result, it can be seen that blue collar and white collar youth developed distinguishable patterns in career values and career ambitions with respect to time, gender, and region. Compared to white collar youth, blue collar youth were found to value more the "security/money" aspects than the "people/service" aspects of a job, to be more likely to resist change, and to manifest a greater gender difference in value orientations. But, blue collar youth showed fewer or no regional differences in career values as well as in the aforementioned patterning behaviors. In contrast, greater regional differences were noted among white collar youth. In addition, blue collar youth also manifested rather strong associations between career values and career ambitions, particularly among the boys. The associations manifested by girls in 1968 became negligible

in 1978. This patterning behavior was found to be similar, if not identical, among Appalachian and Central/Western Kentucky youth.

Overall, the findings reported in this chapter suggest very strongly that career values are important factors in the upward mobility behavior of blue collar youth. And, this generalization holds whether the young people are graduating seniors in Appalachian Kentucky or in other Kentucky regional areas.

Chapter VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND DISCUSSION

1. Research Approach

The objective of this study has been to explore the relationships between career values, career ambitions, and the social class origins of high school seniors. Career values, a particular type of valuation, are assumed to mediate between social class origins and career ambitions. This theoretical model has guided other researchers such as Morgan and his associates (1979), Mortimer and his associates (1979,1982), Herzog (1982), Howell, Ohlendorf and McBroom (1981), Slomczynski (1981,1986), Kohn and his associates (1978, 1980, 1986). All of these studies were conducted on a national or societal level. As far I know, no study until this one has dealt with the relationships between values, social class, and social behavior from a regional perspective, even though that regional context has been repeatedly shown to be crucial for understanding the behavior of career choosing and status attainment (Billings 1974, Bogie 1977, Lyson 1976, Schwarzweller 1973).

My study included temporal considerations. It aimed to observe the patterning behaviors of career valuation and career ambition with respect to social class origins from

both a longitudinal and regional perspective. The main focus was on the the opportunities for upper status social mobility of young people from Appalachian Kentucky, particularly those from blue collar class families.

Like other kinds of values, career values are believed to be transmittable, especially from parents through the process of socialization (Bengtson 1979, Ellis et al 1979, Grasmich and Grasmich 1978, Rapport 1985). Values are also believed to emerge out of working or living situations (Pearlin and Kohn 1966, Kohn 1969a, 1969b; Kohn and Schooler 1978, Morgan et al 1979, Slomczynski et al 1981, Lindsay and Knox 1984) and to reflect the socioeconomic circumstances of a region (Billings 1974, Kasarda 1980,1983). For high school seniors who have little or no working experiences, career values probably derive primarily from parents and the situations associated with family life and educational experiences. Of course, values can serve either as a rational ground for justifying an already committed career decision or as a driving force directing career selection (Kriesberg 1963, Williams 1979). Social class origins are of paramount importance not only in career selection but also in the patterning of career values. But, the interrelations between social class origin, career ambition, and career values probably reflect the opportunity structure of a regional area.

Economic circumstance in Appalachian Kentucky improved

markedly from 1968 to 1978. Yet, the economy of the region still lags behind that of Central and Western Kentucky. The changing economic conditions should be reflected in value patterning. Specifically, the manner by which career values act as a linkage between social class origins and career ambitions should manifest the improvement of the regional economy in Appalachian Kentucky as well as in Central and Western Kentucky during the decade, regardless of the gender of the young people.

From this theoretical perspective, six major hypotheses were formulated to guide this study. They are:

- (1). Appalachian boys and girls are more likely to value the extrinsic aspects of a job than are Kentucky boys and girls from other regions.
- (2). Appalachian boys and girls are probably becoming more interested in the intrinsic/people aspects of a job (comparing 1968 with 1978 data).
- (3). Career values are assumed to be associated with career ambition. Those who indicate an expectation for upper status mobility are more likely to value the intrinsic/people aspects of a job; those who do not have such an expectation are more likely to value the extrinsic aspects of a job. The associations are probably less noteworthy (less polarized and more diffused) for Appalachian boys and girls than for Kentucky boys and girls from other regions.

- (4). The associations between career values and career ambition are probably becoming more polarized and less diffused for Appalachian boys and girls.
- (5). Career values are assumed to be associated with social class origins. Those from blue collar class families are more likely to value the extrinsic aspects of a job; those from white collar class families are more likely to value the intrinsic/people aspects of a job. The associations would be less polarized and more diffused for Appalachian boys and girls than for other Kentucky boys and girls in both years, 1968 and 1978.
- (6). Finally, the associations between career values and social class origin are probably becoming more polarized and less diffused for Appalachian boys and girls (comparing 1968 and 1978 data).

Data were collected by survey questionnaires administered in class to graduating high school seniors, attending schools located in Eastern (Appalachian) Kentucky, Central Kentucky, and Western Kentucky counties in 1968 and again in 1978. The 1968's survey was conducted by Harry Schwarzweller and the follow-up survey in 1978 was administered by Donald Bogie in collaboration with Schwarzweller. A total of 1609 cases was obtained from the initial survey. Six hundred forty three of them were from Eastern Kentucky. The rest, 966 cases, came from Central and Western Kentucky. The follow-up resulted 1543 cases. Eastern Kentucky

contributed 495 cases while Central and Western Kentucky contributed 1048 cases.

As indicated earlier, the focus of the study was on Appalachian youth from Eastern Kentucky. Data from Central and Western Kentucky permitted a comparative perspective and, thereby, more confidence in stating generalizations and in making interpretations.

2. Findings

My analysis reveals that there were some similarities and some differences in the patterning of career values with respect to gender, and social class origins of Appalachian youth and Central/Western Kentucky youth during the decade of 1968-1978.

Value expressions about an ideal job were found to be changing from 1968 to 1978 among Central/Western Kentucky youth (Fig. 6.1). The orientational changes were generally in terms of a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. Concern about "security/money" theme was becoming more important while concern about "people/service" theme was becoming less important. The pattern of changes manifested only minor (marginal) variations by gender and social class origins.

Controlling on social class origin, however, revealed

some variations by gender. A social class effect was observed among Central/Western Kentucky girls. Those from blue collar families experienced relatively less noteworthy and less widespread valuational changes than did those from white collar families. However, the valuational changes of Central/Western Kentucky boys did not vary by social class origins.

Fig. 6.1 Major Career Orientational Changes From 1968 to 1978
(Summarization of Valuational Changes)

Gender	Appalachian	Non-Appalachian
Boys	n.s.	+ "security/money"
Girls	+ "Security/money"	+ "security/money" - "people/service"
<hr/>		
Boys (Class Origin Control)		
Blue Collar	- "people/service"	+ "security/money" - "people/service"
White Collar	n.s.	- "people/service"
Girls		
Blue Collar	n.s.	+ "security/money" - "people/service"
White Collar	- "security/money"	+ "security/money" - "people/service"

Note: n.s. Not statistically significant.
+ Increasing orientation.
- Decreasing orientation.

In contrast, valuational changes were less obvious among Appalachian youth (Fig. 6.1). Sporadic and minor changes were noted only among blue collar boys and white collar girls. The pattern of valuational changes experienced by Appalachian blue collar boys was rather similar to that of Central/Western Kentucky youth. They were becoming less likely to emphasize the "people/service" theme as an important attribute of a job. In contrast, white collar girls in Appalachian Kentucky were becoming less likely to emphasize the "security/money" theme.

Overall, the expression of career values by Appalachian boys and girls was generally changing in quite different ways. Blue collar boys and girls seemed to be becoming more concerned with "security/money" theme; white collar boys and girls were becoming more concerned with "people/service".

The orientational changes from 1968 to 1978 had undoubtedly disturbed the pattern of gender variation in value expressions. In both years, 1968 and 1978, career values were structured by gender not only among Appalachian youth but also among other Kentucky youth. The structuring was in terms of a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme. As noted also by research elsewhere (Rosenberg 1957, Garrison 1979, Lueptow 1981, and Herzog 1982), girls emphasized the "people/service" theme; boys emphasized the "security/money" theme.

Nevertheless, gender differences were found to vary by social class origins in both 1968 and 1978. In general, blue collar youth displayed relatively greater and more diffused differences than did white collar youth. And social class variations were relatively less noteworthy for Appalachian youth than for Central/Western Kentucky youth. For example, in Central/Western Kentucky blue collar youth did not show valuational changes by gender. However, white collar youth demonstrated gender variations which were less diffused in 1978 than in 1968. This patterned change by gender was greater among Appalachian youth than among Central/Western Kentucky youth. The gender differences in valuation became less widespread not only among white collar youth but also among blue collar youth. Relatively speaking, white collar youth still manifested less noteworthy gender variations in career values than did blue collar youth. But class differences were relatively lesser in Appalachian Kentucky than in Central/Western Kentucky.

Appalachian youth manifested quite a different pattern of career valuations by social class origins in comparison to that of Central/Western Kentucky youth. In 1968, career values were moderately associated with social class origins for both boys and girls living in Central/Western Kentucky. The associations were generally polarized in terms of "security/money" and "people/service". Blue collar youth were more likely to emphasize the "security/money" theme;

white collar youth were more likely to emphasize the "people/service" theme. However, no significant associations were found among Appalachian youth.

By 1978, career values were still found to be associated with social class origins for boys but not for girls in Central/Western Kentucky. The associations between career values and social class origins were also noted among Appalachian boys and girls. Like the pattern manifested by Central/Western Kentucky boys, the associations were polarized in terms of "security/money" and "people/service". Blue collar youth tended to emphasize "security/money"; white collar youth were prone to emphasize "people/service".

The patterned changes were also observed in career valuations with respect to region. In 1968, the pattern of career values manifested by Appalachian boys was similar to that manifested by Central/Western Kentucky boys. But, there were differences between Appalachian girls and Central/Western Kentucky girls. Appalachian girls were more likely to emphasize "money/security"; Central/Western Kentucky girls were more likely to emphasize "people/service".

These differences nevertheless were obliterated by 1978. A new pattern emerged among both white collar boys and girls. Appalachian boys and girls from white collar families appeared to increase their concerns about "people/service"; white collar boys and girls from Central/Western

Kentucky seemed to increase their concerns about "security/money".

My analysis also reveals that there were similarities and differences in the patterning of career ambitions when comparing Appalachian youth and Central/Western Kentucky youth during the decade of 1968-1978.

In general, Appalachian boys were less likely to indicate an expectation for upward mobility plans than were other Kentucky boys. But the gap became smaller in 1978 than in 1968. However, Appalachian girls did not manifest any differences in their career ambitions in comparison with that of Central/Western Kentucky girls in both years, 1968 and 1978.

Regional differences were not found in associations between career ambitions and social class origins. In both years, 1968 and 1978, career ambitions were positively associated with social class origins for Appalachian boys as well as for Central/Western Kentucky boys. Those from blue collar origins were less likely to aspire for upward mobility plans; those from white collar origins were more likely to do so. But, career ambition was only marginally associated with social class origin for Appalachian girls in 1968 and for Central/Western girls in 1978. Apparently, career ambitions were more consistently associated with social class origins for boys than for girls.

In addition, a similar regional pattern was found in the associations between career values and career ambitions. In 1968, the associations were polarized around a "security/money" theme and a "people/service" theme not only in Appalachian Kentucky but also in Central/Western Kentucky. Those who indicated a strong ambition for upward mobility were more likely to emphasize "people/service"; those who were less ambitious were more likely to emphasize "security/money". By 1978, the associations were found to have remained almost unchanged for Appalachian and Central/Western Kentucky boys, but had become negligible for Appalachian and Central/Western Kentucky girls.

The same pattern was also discovered among blue collar youth in Eastern Kentucky as well as in Central/Western Kentucky. From 1968 to 1978, career values continued to "discriminate" career ambitions for blue collar boys, but not for blue collar girls in Appalachian Kentucky as well as in Central/Western Kentucky. The associations became negligible for blue collar girls by 1978.

In summary, the patterning processes in career values and career ambitions were apparently converging for Appalachian youth and other Kentucky youth during the decade of 1968-1978. This convergence seemed to proceed with a likelihood of greater speed for those from white collar origins than for those from blue collar origins. Regional variation was still somewhat contingent upon

gender.

The expression of career values was, for example, very similar for Appalachian and other Kentucky boys, but different for Appalachian girls and other Kentucky girls. Appalachian girls were more likely to emphasize "security/money"; other Kentucky girls were more likely to emphasize "people/service".

In contrast, the level of career ambition expressed by an expectation for upward mobility was about the same for Appalachian girls and other Kentucky girls, but different for Appalachian boys and other Kentucky boys. Appalachian boys were relatively less ambitious than other Kentucky boys.

In addition, career ambition was found to be associated with social class origins for both Appalachian and other Kentucky boys in both years, 1968 and 1978. But, the associations were less consistent and relatively weaker for Appalachian girls in 1968, and for other Kentucky girls in 1978.

The different patterns in career valuation and career ambition with respect to social class origin imply different reactions to the same regional circumstances between Appalachian boys and girls. Perhaps, the opportunities in Appalachia are open more for girls than for boys.

3. Theoretical Implications

These findings suggest that regional idiosyncrasies, particularly unique opportunity structures, should be taken into account in positing theories which link career values and career choosing/status attainment behaviors. As in earlier studies, gender and social class origins are shown to be the key mechanisms through which regional idiosyncrasies are translated into behavior. It is also observed that, gender and social class origins impose their influences indirectly (as well as directly) upon career choosing/status attainment behavior through career values that are reflective of regional environments and cultures. Information derived from national or societal level data has often overlooked the unique processes of career setting behavior in a marginal region such as Appalachian Kentucky.

Beliefs and values, which derive from societal environments or circumstances, are changeable and, of course, responsive to changes in social environments and circumstances. The orientational changes to favor extrinsic values by the majority of the young people in Central/Western Kentucky, regardless of their gender and class origins, probably reflect changes in the United States economy during the late 1970's and early 1980's. Young people may have been anticipating the depressed economic situation.

Yet, valuational changes are not always spontaneous. Preconceived beliefs and values derived from the existing regional or societal cultures can and do shape individual adaptation in a changing world. As suggested by the findings in this study, valuational changes seem to take place sooner in the mainstream society than in the marginal areas, such as Kentucky Appalachia, especially when the marginal areas and the mainstream are undergoing similar social and economic changes or development.

Also suggested by the findings of this study are the different reactions taken by blue collar and white collar class youths to social and economic changes. As demonstrated by Appalachian youth and reflected in their valuational changes, youth from white collar class families seem to benefit more, in general, from regional development programs and the improvement in the regional economy than do blue collar class youth. The gap between the poor and the rich becomes greater as it is reflected in their beliefs and values and in their opportunities for upward mobility, at least, at the earlier stage of the changes.

Similarly, individual reactions or adaptations to social and economic changes also vary by gender. The adaptations are likely shaped by gender roles defined or constrained by traditional American culture. Our regional data confirm that boys and girls have somewhat different orientations toward work and different conceptions of an ideal job

(Rosenberg 1957, Schwarzweller 1978, Lueptow 1981, Woodworth 1981, Herzog 1982, Tallichet 1982). Boys are more likely to emphasize extrinsic rewards, such as money and security, whereas girls are more inclined toward the aspects of a job dealing with people and the opportunities to serve society. Since 1968 the gender gap has been narrowing, but more so among white collar youth than among blue collar youth¹. It is a result of increasing concern by girls for extrinsic rewards; this is especially so for white collar class girls in Central/Western Kentucky. The adoption by girls of this traditionally male orientation cannot be interpreted purely as a reflection of either economic change, change in traditional culture, or some combination of both. It probably represents also, in large measure, a revolutionary change in our society through which American women are reaching out for a greater role in politics and the economy. In other words, it may suggest a gender convergence in job-valuing outlook--an end to gender differentiation in career attitudes. At the same time, this revolutionary change has also shaped the process through which the influence of career values is imposed upon the career decisions of American young women and their motivation for upward mobility. The influence of career values on their career decisions and motivation is undoubtedly suppressed by

1. The change was similar to the national trend observed by Garrison (1979), Lueptow (1981), Herzog (1982).

something else. The processes and mechanisms of career selection and status attainment seem to be moving further apart for boys and girls.

4. Practical Implications:

The findings from this study provide information that practitioners may want to consider and implement, especially in their areas of regional/community development programs and through educational policies, including curriculum development and counselling and guidance programs. My observations about how gender and social class origin impose their influences on the career decisions/ambitions of young people through career orientations can be beneficial to practitioners for better understanding the issues of regional inequalities as well as gender and social class inequalities.

One obvious finding must be taken account: boys and girls, whether in rural Appalachia or elsewhere in America, value and see work careers differently. Boys are in general more concerned with the security/money aspects of a job whereas girls are more concerned with the people/service aspects.

Socioeconomic and family backgrounds also make a difference in how young people regard work and careers.

Those from blue collar families are more likely to emphasize, for example, security and money; those from white collar families are more likely to emphasize serving society and the chance to work with people. Class differences are relatively narrower in rural Appalachia than in other regions; but even in Appalachia the class gap seems to be widening.

In addition, perceptions about an ideal job, as shown in this study, appear to vary in terms of the upward mobility aspirations of young people. For instance, those who expect to attain an upper level career position and are striving to achieve, are more likely to stress the importance of serving society and of working with people. On the other hand, those who are less ambitious and less anxious about attaining an upper status position, are more likely to stress the importance of job security and money.

Also demonstrated in this study is a perspective on regional development. As shown by the findings on career values and career ambitions with respect to gender and social class origins, the behavioral patterns of Appalachian youth, particularly those from blue collar families, are becoming more like that of other Kentucky youth. Socially and economically, Appalachian Kentucky is fast becoming an integral part of the greater American society.

Through various developmental programs and the processes of integration, greater opportunities have been

opened to Appalachian young people. The economy of this once depressed region is no longer limited to extractive industries and subsistence agriculture. As elsewhere throughout rural America, manufacturing industries have been introduced (Leinbach and Gromley 1982); growth can also be seen in service and recreational industries. More importantly, life conditions have been improved, especially in counties where the basic economy now is manufacturing (Duncan and Tickamyer 1982, Bokemeier and Maura 1983).

However, the manner by which the rich and the poor are adapting to these changes, as reflected in the career valuations of young people drawn into this study, seems to change toward different directions and to suggest a possible increase in social inequalities in rural Appalachia. Incentives or policies must be implemented to prevent further drifting apart in adaptation behaviors and hence in the opportunity gap between youth from blue collar and white collar families.

5. Limitations and Suggestions For Future Research

Like many other researches, this study has certain flaws. One of them is the sample representativeness. As indicated in Chapter 2, the respondent rate dropped about 30 percent from a response rate of almost 100 percent

in the 1968 survey to only about 70 percent in the 1978 survey; this was due to the Protection of Privacy Act. More girls than boys chose to participate in the 1978 study. Though the data of 1978 remain quite comparable to both the data of 1968 and are in line with secondary data derived from the census of the United States, with respect to background information, such as parental education and occupation, one still wonders about the representativeness of the 1978 data.

Secondly, though not a problem of sample representativeness, my interpretations and generalizations about the patterning behaviors of white collar youth must be taken with caution, particularly for gender behaviors in valuation. My observations are based on a relatively small sample of white collar youth; proportionately few Appalachian youth come from white collar families. For future research, a weighting procedure or standardized sampling technique is recommended in order to have firmer observations of the behavioral patterns of white collar youth in the region.

The third limitation is with respect to the measurement of social class origins and career values. As indicated in Chapter 1, the measurement of social class origins by father's occupational status may suppress the important influence of socializational effects deriving from father's occupational situs, i.e., the kind of work done by the father. Children of fathers who are businessmen may be,

for example, oriented more toward extrinsic values than toward intrinsic or "people/service" values, even though their fathers' occupational status, such as business manager of a big corporation or entrepreneur are ranked on a par with white collar workers in the service sector. A control on father's occupational situs (type of work) may provide better insights into the impact of family origins on valuation.

The limitation of how career values were measured is not a matter of reliability or validity. Career values were measured by instruments developed from a content analysis of data collected by a pilot study before the actual survey in 1968. These instruments based on reports of informants about what they regarded as the most important values for an ideal job in 1968, may not include the most important values perceived by young people in 1978. In either case, furthermore, inferences about "the most important values" are not valid and must be avoided.

Finally, our data apparently manifested the joint effects of gender and social class origin in the patterning of career valuation and career ambitions of high school seniors. The management and presentation of joint effects by gamma statistics are not good procedures. The small samples of white collar youth and the uneven marginal frequencies had failed to fit a logistic regression model for data analysis. Besides, parental values which are

possibly intervening between social class origin and the career values of high school seniors were not included in this study.

Overall, special attention should be paid to seek strategy for identifying and separating the socialization and the situational effects in value expression. A control of parental values may help, for example, to clarify the influences of valuational expression in career ambition. It may also help us getting a better perception about both the magnitude and the manner by which social class affects career selection and status attainment.

Attempts must also be taken to explore further the impact of regional context on the interrelationships between social class origin, career values, and career ambition from a cross cultural/national perspective. A cross cultural/national comparative research will certainly help us formulate more valid and universal conclusions about regional impacts.

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Appendix A1: Percent of High School Seniors Expecting a College Education by Various Career Foci,
Based on Trichotomy, by Regional Area, Gender, and Year*.

Year	Security			Money			Achievement			Hard Work			People			Service		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Eastern Kentucky																		
Boys																		
1968	53%	33%	30%	38%	36%	27%	33%	31%	39%	32%	39%	33%	33%	32%	37%	36%	32%	48%
	(34)	(154)	(137)	(131)	(70)	(124)	(149)	(98)	(78)	(181)	(72)	(72)	(162)	(95)	(68)	(181)	(88)	(56)
1978	35%	30%	24%	33%	25%	24%	28%	24%	31%	30%	28%	21%	27%	27%	29%	21%	33%	46%
	(29)	(71)	(92)	(69)	(40)	(83)	(102)	(54)	(36)	(110)	(40)	(42)	(93)	(48)	(51)	(118)	(46)	(28)
Girls																		
1968	54%	35%	31%	41%	37%	30%	42%	28%	41%	43%	37%	30%	36%	35%	43%	28%	32%	54%
	(70)	(150)	(91)	(177)	(71)	(63)	(184)	(85)	(42)	(139)	(86)	(86)	(110)	(91)	(110)	(116)	(91)	(104)
1978	41%	38%	38%	40%	40%	36%	39%	39%	38%	43%	34%	35%	43%	40%	35%	33%	39%	48%
	(61)	(123)	(107)	(149)	(58)	(84)	(192)	(78)	(21)	(143)	(88)	(60)	(84)	(92)	(115)	(125)	(83)	(83)
Central and Western Kentucky																		
Boys																		
1968	77%	52%	34%	53%	47%	42%	51%	43%	48%	46%	50%	49%	42%	47%	58%	38%	55%	70%
	(70)	(190)	(209)	(208)	(86)	(175)	(200)	(147)	(122)	(254)	(119)	(96)	(223)	(133)	(113)	(275)	(112)	(82)
1978	62%	42%	32%	43%	43%	36%	44%	37%	37%	43%	42%	26%	33%	37%	59%	35%	40%	65%
	(58)	(165)	(196)	(145)	(83)	(191)	(183)	(137)	(99)	(269)	(88)	(62)	(221)	(97)	(101)	(272)	(85)	(62)
Girls																		
1968	55%	38%	28%	45%	35%	25%	55%	76%	61%	44%	41%	33%	32%	36%	47%	22%	34%	60%
	(135)	(227)	(130)	(317)	(79)	(96)	(325)	(111)	(56)	(214)	(147)	(131)	(130)	(140)	(222)	(163)	(140)	(189)
1978	47%	44%	45%	45%	44%	47%	45%	45%	46%	51%	40%	38%	47%	42%	46%	41%	45%	55%
	(105)	(232)	(172)	(257)	(85)	(167)	(315)	(106)	(88)	(265)	(147)	(97)	(165)	(119)	(225)	(251)	(139)	(120)

* The numbers in apprentheses are sample sizes.

Appendix A2: Percent High School Seniors Expecting a Professional Work Career by Various Career Foci, Based on Trichotomy, by Regional Area, Gender, and Year*.

Year	Security			Money			Achievement			Hard Work			People			Service		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Eastern Kentucky																		
Boys																		
1968	53%	22%	22%	31%	19%	23%	27%	17%	31%	24%	27%	27%	22%	24%	34%	22%	23%	38%
	(32)	(137)	(125)	(121)	(62)	(111)	(140)	(86)	(68)	(164)	(62)	(68)	(143)	(87)	(64)	(161)	(80)	(53)
1978	39%	22%	24%	34%	15%	24%	34%	16%	18%	25%	31%	25%	23%	29%	29%	19%	29%	52%
	(28)	(59)	(82)	(61)	(34)	(74)	(92)	(44)	(33)	(98)	(35)	(36)	(83)	(41)	(45)	(104)	(42)	(23)
Girls																		
1968	41%	27%	28%	34%	32%	21%	34%	23%	30%	32%	26%	33%	31%	27%	33%	20%	30%	42%
	(64)	(120)	(69)	(140)	(60)	(53)	(151)	(65)	(37)	(114)	(73)	(66)	(88)	(67)	(98)	(91)	(76)	(86)
1978	32%	22%	23%	27%	23%	21%	24%	27%	24%	24%	29%	19%	26%	23%	24%	20%	20%	35%
	(53)	(109)	(92)	(135)	(52)	(67)	(170)	(67)	(17)	(125)	(76)	(53)	(73)	(73)	(108)	(106)	(71)	(77)
Central and Western Kentucky																		
Boys																		
1968	63%	44%	24%	45%	38%	29%	43%	33%	35%	37%	39%	40%	32%	36%	51%	29%	40%	63%
	(65)	(165)	(196)	(194)	(79)	(153)	(186)	(135)	(105)	(230)	(109)	(87)	(204)	(117)	(105)	(246)	(104)	(76)
1978	55%	28%	27%	32%	17%	36%	31%	30%	32%	37%	21%	18%	25%	29%	46%	29%	22%	51%
	(47)	(143)	(173)	(128)	(69)	(166)	(169)	(109)	(85)	(231)	(76)	(56)	(193)	(85)	(85)	(235)	(73)	(55)
Girls																		
1968	33%	23%	17%	27%	17%	19%	29%	14%	18%	32%	18%	18%	21%	20%	29%	7%	22%	39%
	(116)	(190)	(104)	(277)	(60)	(73)	(269)	(91)	(50)	(187)	(122)	(101)	(94)	(122)	(194)	(126)	(116)	(168)
1978	29%	34%	22%	31%	27%	26%	28%	30%	30%	34%	19%	37%	30%	27%	29%	22%	32%	39%
	(96)	(206)	(155)	(237)	(78)	(142)	(281)	(97)	(79)	(224)	(126)	(76)	(150)	(100)	(207)	(222)	(126)	(109)

* The numbers in parentheses are sample sizes.

Table A3: Percent High School Seniors Expecting a Nonmanual Work Career, by Various Career Foci,
Based on Trichotomy, by Regional Area, Gender, and Year*.

Year	Security			Money			Achievement			Hard Work			People			Service		
	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High	Low	Mid	High
Eastern Kentucky																		
Boys																		
1968	59%	34%	30%	46%	27%	29%	36%	33%	38%	34%	36%	40%	31%	35%	47%	31%	31%	55%
	(32)	(137)	(125)	(121)	(62)	(111)	(140)	(86)	(68)	(164)	(62)	(68)	(143)	(87)	(64)	(161)	(80)	(53)
1978	50%	29%	27%	39%	24%	28%	37%	25%	24%	34%	31%	25%	28%	32%	38%	23%	33%	65%
	(28)	(59)	(82)	(61)	(34)	(74)	(92)	(44)	(33)	(98)	(35)	(36)	(83)	(41)	(45)	(104)	(42)	(23)
Girls																		
1968	86%	81%	75%	83%	87%	68%	86%	68%	81%	80%	80%	83%	78%	78%	85%	75%	80%	87%
	(64)	(120)	(69)	(140)	(60)	(53)	(151)	(65)	(37)	(114)	(73)	(66)	(88)	(67)	(98)	(91)	(76)	(86)
1978	81%	78%	79%	82%	85%	70%	79%	78%	88%	78%	80%	81%	78%	86%	75%	76%	83%	81%
	(53)	(109)	(92)	(135)	(52)	(67)	(170)	(67)	(17)	(125)	(76)	(53)	(73)	(73)	(108)	(106)	(71)	(77)
Central and Western Kentucky																		
Boys																		
1968	79%	63%	45%	63%	57%	49%	61%	54%	53%	54%	65%	54%	53%	52%	71%	49%	63%	75%
	(65)	(165)	(196)	(194)	(79)	(153)	(186)	(135)	(105)	(230)	(109)	(87)	(204)	(117)	(105)	(246)	(104)	(76)
1978	75%	53%	40%	51%	49%	49%	51%	40%	59%	53%	50%	34%	40%	49%	71%	46%	45%	71%
	(47)	(143)	(173)	(128)	(69)	(166)	(169)	(109)	(85)	(231)	(76)	(56)	(193)	(85)	(85)	(235)	(73)	(55)
Girls																		
1968	94%	85%	78%	88%	77%	85%	88%	80%	82%	81%	92%	87%	86%	87%	85%	77%	87%	91%
	(116)	(190)	(104)	(277)	(60)	(73)	(269)	(91)	(50)	(187)	(122)	(101)	(94)	(122)	(194)	(126)	(116)	(168)
1978	78%	81%	79%	82%	78%	77%	79%	83%	80%	80%	84%	72%	77%	78%	82%	78%	81%	82%
	(96)	(206)	(155)	(237)	(78)	(142)	(281)	(97)	(79)	(236)	(134)	(87)	(150)	(100)	(207)	(222)	(126)	(109)

* The numbers in apprentheses are sample sizes.

Appendix B1: Percent of Working Class High School Seniors Expecting a College Education by Various Career Foci, Based on Dichotomy, by Regional Area, Gender, and Year*.

Year	Security		Money		Achievement		Hard Work		People		Service	
	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Eastern Kentucky												
Boys												
1968	48%	26%	37%	22%	25%	31%	26%	31%	30%	27%	27%	30%
	(21)	(216)	(98)	(139)	(104)	(133)	(132)	(105)	(117)	(120)	(131)	(106)
1978	33%	21%	32%	17%	19%	25%	26%	18%	18%	27%	15%	38%
	(15)	(97)	(37)	(75)	(53)	(59)	(61)	(51)	(57)	(55)	(75)	(37)
Girls												
1968	54%	32%	39%	33%	40%	32%	43%	32%	34%	38%	26%	43%
	(54)	(178)	(130)	(102)	(135)	(97)	(103)	(129)	(86)	(146)	(88)	(144)
1978	23%	32%	31%	29%	30%	31%	34%	27%	32%	30%	29%	31%
	(35)	(153)	(99)	(89)	(123)	(65)	(92)	(96)	(53)	(135)	(85)	(103)
Central and Western Kentucky												
Boys												
1968	74%	33%	43%	35%	45%	34%	36%	41%	34%	43%	30%	52%
	(43)	(281)	(149)	(175)	(139)	(185)	(169)	(155)	(157)	(167)	(198)	(126)
1978	50%	28%	35%	28%	37%	24%	35%	23%	22%	41%	24%	42%
	(24)	(195)	(78)	(141)	(104)	(115)	(131)	(88)	(127)	(92)	(145)	(74)
Girls												
1968	45%	27%	37%	21%	35%	23%	33%	30%	25%	34%	17%	40%
	(84)	(262)	(226)	(120)	(226)	(120)	(148)	(198)	(99)	(247)	(126)	(220)
1978	36%	34%	36%	32%	34%	35%	38%	31%	36%	33%	29%	39%
	(64)	(224)	(151)	(137)	(178)	(110)	(137)	(151)	(91)	(197)	(144)	(144)

* The numbers in apprentheses are sample sizes.

Appendix B2: Percent of Working Class High School Seniors Expecting a Professional Work Career by Various Career Foci, Based on Dichotomy, by Regional Area, Gender, and Year*.

Year	Security		Money		Achievement		Hard Work		People		Service	
	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Eastern Kentucky												
Boys												
1968	45%	20%	30%	17%	25%	21%	21%	24%	20%	24%	20%	26%
	(20)	(194)	(93)	(121)	(97)	(117)	(117)	(97)	(103)	(111)	(116)	(98)
1978	40%	18%	29%	17%	29%	14%	18%	25%	14%	28%	15%	33%
	(15)	(84)	(34)	(65)	(49)	(50)	(55)	(44)	(49)	(50)	(66)	(33)
Girls												
1968	36%	26%	33%	23%	32%	24%	28%	28%	27%	29%	15%	36%
	(50)	(137)	(103)	(84)	(111)	(76)	(81)	(106)	(70)	(117)	(66)	(121)
1978	29%	19%	22%	20%	18%	27%	24%	19%	21%	22%	19%	23%
	(31)	(134)	(91)	(74)	(109)	(56)	(80)	(85)	(44)	(121)	(72)	(93)
Central and Western Kentucky												
Boys												
1968	67%	28%	39%	28%	36%	30%	33%	33%	28%	38%	25%	44%
	(39)	(256)	(139)	(156)	(132)	(163)	(152)	(143)	(142)	(153)	(179)	(117)
1978	32%	20%	22%	20%	23%	19%	28%	9%	16%	28%	20%	23%
	(19)	(174)	(69)	(124)	(97)	(96)	(117)	(76)	(114)	(79)	(128)	(65)
Girls												
1968	25%	14%	19%	11%	21%	9%	22%	12%	17%	16%	4%	23%
	(71)	(214)	(197)	(88)	(185)	(100)	(128)	(157)	(70)	(215)	(96)	(189)
1978	22%	24%	26%	21%	22%	26%	30%	18%	27%	22%	18%	29%
	(58)	(202)	(141)	(119)	(159)	(101)	(123)	(137)	(84)	(176)	(130)	(130)

* The numbers in apprentheses are sample sizes.

Appendix B3: Percent of Working Class High School Seniors Expecting
a Nonmanual Work Career by Various Career Foci, Based
on Dichotomy, by Regional Area, Gender, and Year*.

Year	Security		Money		Achievement		Hard Work		People		Service	
	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Eastern Kentucky												
Boys												
1968	45%	31%	45%	22%	32%	33%	32%	33%	27%	37%	29%	36%
	(20)	(194)	(93)	(121)	(97)	(117)	(117)	(97)	(103)	(111)	(116)	(98)
1978	53%	19%	32%	20%	29%	20%	24%	25%	16%	32%	17%	39%
	(15)	(84)	(34)	(65)	(49)	(50)	(55)	(44)	(49)	(50)	(66)	(33)
Girls												
1968	86%	80%	83%	80%	87%	74%	83%	80%	80%	82%	74%	85%
	(50)	(137)	(103)	(84)	(111)	(76)	(81)	(106)	(70)	(117)	(66)	(121)
1978	74%	77%	79%	73%	76%	77%	76%	77%	73%	78%	75%	77%
	(31)	(134)	(91)	(74)	(109)	(56)	(80)	(85)	(44)	(121)	(72)	(93)
Central and Western Kentucky												
Boys												
1968	74%	45%	55%	43%	53%	45%	47%	50%	44%	52%	42%	59%
	(39)	(256)	(139)	(156)	(132)	(163)	(152)	(143)	(142)	(153)	(178)	(117)
1978	53%	35%	36%	36%	38%	34%	42%	28%	28%	48%	33%	43%
	(19)	(174)	(69)	(124)	(97)	(96)	(117)	(76)	(114)	(79)	(128)	(65)
Girls												
1968	92%	80%	85%	78%	86%	78%	77%	89%	86%	82%	76%	87%
	(71)	(214)	(197)	(88)	(185)	(100)	(128)	(157)	(70)	(215)	(96)	(189)
1978	76%	79%	82%	75%	78%	79%	80%	77%	24%	21%	75%	82%
	(58)	(202)	(141)	(119)	(159)	(101)	(123)	(137)	(84)	(176)	(130)	(130)

* The numbers in apprentheses are sample sizes.

Appendix C: Questionnaire Statement and Measurement
Instruments for Career Values

Questionnaire Statement:

This last section requires your careful attention. We want to know what you regard as the more important things in a job career. To make this easier and more fun, we've put together a sort of "choosing game." Check one of the three possibilities in each set which comes closest to your own opinion. Please don't skip any.
CONSIDER EACH CHOICE SEPARATELY.

Measurement Instruments:

WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER MORE IMPORTANT?

1. In choosing a work career, the more important thing is:
(please check only one!)
☐ Good possibility for advancement
☐ Good security for the future
☐ Frequent contact with people
2. In choosing a work career, the more important thing is:
(check only one!)
☐ Opportunity to get ahead
☐ Chance to help other people
☐ Making a good income
3. In choosing a work career, the more important thing is:

- ☐)Knowing you will have a steady job
 - ☐)Doing something useful for society
 - ☐)Being able to do a solid day's work
4. In choosing a work career, the more important thing is:
- ☐)Meeting many people
 - ☐)making lots of money
 - ☐)Working hard
5. In choosing a work career, the more important thing is:
- ☐)Possibility of becoming well-known
 - ☐)Certainty of lifetime employment
 - ☐)Chance to take on a task and really work at it
6. In choosing a work career, the more important thing is:
- ☐)A good chance for a successful career
 - ☐)Knowing that you're doing work that helps others
 - ☐)Working around or with people
7. In choosing a work career, the more important is:
- ☐)Being sure you'll not be fired if hard times come
 - ☐)Opportunity to do good and serve mankind
 - ☐)Making plenty of money for a comfortable living
8. In choosing a work career, the more important is:
- ☐)Chance to get acquainted with different people
 - ☐)Getting paid well for your labor
 - ☐)Really being able to do an honest day's work
9. In choosing a work career, the more important is:
- ☐)Knowing that quick promotions are possible
 - ☐)A good retirement system and pension plan
 - ☐)Paying better money than most other jobs

10. In choosing a work career, the more important is:

- () Chance to become recognized as an important person
- () Opportunity to improve other people's lives
- () Chance to become fully involved in your job and to
work hard

11. In choosing a work career, the more important is:

- () Being certain that your future is secure and you'll
never be out of work
- () Contributing something of value to your fellow men
- () Getting to meet and know lots of people

